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THE TRANSVAAL

AND

BECHUANALAND.

BY

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THE anarchy at present existing in that part of the cismolopo territory of South Africa, now called Bechuanaland, and the warm and rather irritating tone of some of the despatches that have lately passed between the Colonial Office or its officials and the Government of the South African Republic, regarding the causes that have brought about the anarchy and its proper treatment, deserve more attention than they are receiving; as upon the wise and equitable settlement of the present difficulties, and the fixing of the policy to be pursued should conditions of a similar character again ensue, the friendly relations between the English and Dutch populations, and the peace and prosperity of the states and colonies of South Africa, will to a large extent depend.

The present condition of the territory has been brought about by an inter-tribal war, between Korannas, Batlapins, and Baralongs; this war caused by the attempts of the different chiefs to attain the paramount chieftainship of the tribes, and the intrigues of white speculators and adventurers.

The Government is urged to interfere to practically annex the territory by a curious combination of Evangelicals and jingoes, and the old policy of slandering and misrepresenting the Transvaal Go-

vernment is being again pursued. If we interfere it means another South African war, and it also means the adoption of a policy that will probably result in a war between the English and Dutch populations, or rather between the Africanders of all nationalities and the supporters of the too often meddling and muddling policy that has so long dominated the Colonial Office in regard to South African affairs. I need not point out that such a war will be more costly in blood and treasure than any we have already waged in that country, and that a terrible responsibility rests on those who may, from either disinterested or party motives, tend to bring about such a calamity.

Mr. Gorst has asked the House of Commons to censure the Transvaal Government for causing the present state of the territory; this motion has been discussed at two sittings, and a more than usual ignorance of the facts of the case has been exhibited by most of the speakers, the exceptions being the speeches of Mr. John Morley on the first occasion and Mr. Gladstone on the last.

In defence of the Transvaal Government from the attacks of Mr. Forster and those who are at present abusing it, I will now attempt to show, principally from our own official documents, that the present condition of Bechuanaland is the inevitable result of the unwise policy deliberately adopted by the Royal Commission; that the Boer leaders warned the Commissioners that the policy they proposed to adopt would not settle matters, but rather intensify the anarchy that then existed; that the Boer leaders

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were not alone in giving this warning. The Governor of the Transvaal and the Governor of Griqualand, and those of our own officials who were best acquainted with the facts, had previously warned us, and facts had demonstrated the impolicy and injustice of the system then deliberately re-adopted, notwithstanding the protests of both Boers and natives. Hence we are blaming the victims for the result of our own folly.

The Transvaal Government have always claimed this so-called Bechuanaland as a part of their state, and their subjects have always resided in it. When they went there, more than half a century ago, they found the place almost entirely depopulated. It had been overrun by Moselikatsie, the great Matabele or Zulu chief, and its native inhabitants driven away. Moselikatsie also attacked the emigrant farmers, but they ultimately conquered him and drove him out of the country. In 1871, in direct contravention of the Sand River Convention, made in 1852 with the Transvaal Republic, and the Bloemfontein Convention, made in 1854 with the Orange Free State, we appropriated the Diamond Fields, and made Bechuanaland a field for the rivalry of the Dutch and English officials and adventurers of South Africa. Well did Mr. Froude characterise it as "perhaps the most discreditable incident in British colonial history." We have dearly paid for our selfish and discreditable course of conduct. It has brought about most of our South African troubles, and the many wars which have cost us and the Cape Colony so much, and been so barren of any useful results.

This cismolopo territory was until lately called the "Keate Award Territory," in consequence of an award made by Governor Keate of Natal, as umpire in the Bloemhof arbitration case. It was proposed that a dispute between certain native chiefs and between some of these chiefs and the Transvaal Government should be settled by arbitration. President Pretorius consented; one arbitrator, Mr. Campbell, was appointed by us; the other, Mr. O'Reilly, by the Transvaal Government; Mr. Keate to be umpire. Messrs. Campbell and O'Reilly could not agree; Governor Keate was called in and gave his award. The Transvaal Government refused to abide by this award, on the ground that it was not only manifestly unjust, but that both Mr. Campbell, the arbitrator, and Governor Keate, the umpire, had made themselves interested parties — Mr. Campbell having received or bought for a quit rent of three pounds 25,000 acres of part of the disputed territory; and Governor Keate, in accepting Waterboer and his territory as part of the British possessions, despite the solemn treaties which we had voluntarily made, had made himself also an interested party instead of an impartial umpire. President Burgers pointed out that some of the native chiefs had not even been heard in support of the claims; that a part had been given to Mankoroane, on the ground that he was paramount chief of the Batlapins; that Botlasitsie Gasibone, not Mankoroane, was the paramount chief; but the land in question did not belong to the Batlapins at all: the oldest native inhabitants were the Korannas, of which old Massouw

was the paramount chief, and this old chief's land had been given away without his knowing anything about it, or being consulted; that the paramount chief of the Baralongs, if any one had a claim to that title, was Moshette, while the award gave it to Montsioa; and that the citizens of the Transvaal had been settled in the country on their farms before the natives came into it. It was shown that some of the papers on which the award was founded were clearly forgeries, as the watermark proved they had been manufactured three years after the date written on them; but I need not enter into the merits of this award, as it is now generally admitted by our own officials to be in many respects unjust and indefensible, and the correctness of most of President Burgers's assertions has also been admitted by our own officials who have had charge of the district. Thus Colonel Moysey admits that Botlasitsie Gasibone "was in reality of higher birth" than Mankoroane, whom we had recognised (C 3098, page 105); and at the meeting of the Royal Commission, when the question was being discussed, when Colonel Moysey was asked, "Who is the paramount chief (of the Baralongs) by virtue of native custom and native right?" he replied, "I go by what I see in the Bloemhof Arbitration Blue Book, and there Moshette is mentioned as paramount chief, and that he was born so" (C 3219, page 80); and even young Montsioa, who was sent there to represent his father, admitted before the Commission that his father had no right to that position, and that Moshette's tribe had precedence of his father's; but the most weighty

evidence in favour of President Burgers's contention is given by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, when Governor of the Transvaal, in his despatch of July 18th, 1878 (C 2220, pages 109, 110):—

"The Keate award was made under the idea that it was meting out justice to the natives, and that it would tend to maintain the peace of the country; but in fact it handed them over in many cases to white land speculators and adventurers, and in all to the anarchy of tribal disputes, because from the nature of things it was impossible for an umpire to declare or provide for the rights of each tribe. I venture to express my opinion that the spirit of the Keate award would be best carried out by the jurisdiction of the (Transvaal) Government over the whole of the old limits of the Transvaal, and by sufficient land being beaconed off for each of the tribes which at present inhabit the portion cut off by the Keate award."

He advised that this so-called Bechuanaland should again be incorporated formally within the Transvaal State, as from what he had seen of the natives—

"I have come to the conclusion that for their own sakes, as well as for ours, they must be placed under some authority superior to their own. When there is no general excitement such as exists now, which has the effect of more or less uniting them against the whites, quarrels break out amongst themselves, frequently fomented by white men living among them; their tribal quarrels not only prevent all progress and improvement,"

but are harmful to the civilised communities.

In 1878, when this despatch was written, a war had occurred. Botlasitsie Gasibone and his Batlapins had assisted the Griquas, who had risen in rebellion against our rule. They invaded our territory and murdered our subjects; our forces followed them into

their territory and defeated them. Mankoroane tried to screen the guilty Batlapins, and connived at their escape. Colonel Lanyon thus reports concerning the matter (C 2220, page 162) :—

"Just as I was about to start for Taku the news arrived of the province having been invaded by a mixed force of Botlasitsie Gasibone's people and Colonial Kafirs from the north-west. This party attacked and sacked the store of Mr. Thomson, whom they murdered in the most cruel manner. I also learned that Mankoroane, a friendly chief, had allowed this party to afterwards pass his town (Taungs) red-handed with their booty.

"On my return I had an interview with Mankoroane, and I pointed out to him that through his action the Government had been prevented securing the guilty, though he had asked for our help in doing so, and was aware of our near approach ; that I could not absolve him from having screened the most guilty whilst he had sacrificed others ; that he had allowed marauders, who had invaded the Queen's territories, and murdered her subjects, to pass red-handed with their booty through his town ; that in these circumstances I should look to him to secure the guilty and also pay the indemnity of 1,000 head of cattle for the cruel wrong done."

And Colonel Warren, who was sent with another force three months afterwards, to try and secure the murderers, thus reports (C 2454, page 30) :—

" The troops all assembled at Taungs on the night of the 15th November and morning of 16th November. I had previously sent Lieutenant Bethell on with letters to Mankoroane informing him of our approach on our way to other places, in order to reassure him, as reports had been industriously circulated that an attack was to be made on Taungs, in consequence of his having so pertinaciously harboured in his territories the rebels and murderers of whom we are in search. Certainly, the shifty manner in which he has acted during the last few months would lend colour to these

reports, for there can be no doubt that while he has been holding out one hand to us as our ally, he has also been assisting the enemies of the British Government with the other.

"I explained to Mankoroane that his behaviour could only bear two interpretations—either that he was unable or unwilling to act towards us fairly as an ally. He replied that for years past he had been too weak to exercise the control over other chiefs which he had assumed as paramount, and that he had no power except through the influence of the British Government, and that now he had not control over the people even of the border villages of his own tribe, there being chiefs among them who claimed precedence over him. That on this account he could not prevent the enemies of the British Government coming among his own immediate people, and that without the strong arm of the Government he could not rule his people, that he wished to be under the rule of the British Government, and that this was the general wish of the people, who found that gradually throughout the Bechuana tribes all law and order had fallen into abeyance.

"The peculiar position of Mankoroane is rendered the more striking by the active measures the chief, Mathlabani, is able to adopt. Mathlabani, who is only a minor chief, living about six miles from Taungs, and who does not recognise Mankoroane, can get wagons and oxen for the use of the British Government, and offers to turn out 250 fighting men to assist at two days' notice if required; whereas Mankoroane professes to be unable to obtain wagons, oxen, or horses fit to ride, at this season of the year, and has been unable yet to turn out any fighting men to assist, though instructed to call them out more than a week ago. This is the more remarkable, because our columns have passed more than 2,000 fat cattle belonging to Mankoroane at the cattle posts between Takoon and Taungs, and have seen many of his men well armed."

In his speech on this question, the last time it was discussed in the House of Commons, Mr. Forster asserted that Mankoroane had always been our faith-

ful ally, and that it was cowardice of the worst kind to allow him to fall into the hands of his enemies; but these reports do not show him in that character. Mr. Forster also described the Batlapins as a highly civilised Christian people, with a large export and import trade, and some of the Missionary party tell us "it is a high civilisation which is being destroyed by a lower one," the Boer civilisation, being according to them, the lower one. Again I refer to our own Blue Books. In May 13th, 1878, Sir Bartle Frere sent home a report on this same tribe by a Government surveyor in Griqualand West, who had been sent by that Government "with a view to facilitate a steady supply of free labourers for the Kimberley mines." He thus reports (C 2220, pages 47, 75):—

"The Batlapins are a very indolent race, their lands being cultivated and their flocks tended by slaves. They have some idea of a future state, but any crude religious ceremonies they have are connected with witchcraft.

"As I anticipated, there is hardly any probability of obtaining labour from this tribe, unless some means could be devised of putting this slave labour into the market. From careful inquiries I estimate that there are roughly 20,000 slaves belonging to Mankoroane's tribe. The male slaves would, I think, be willing to work if free. At present they are not allowed to work without their masters' permission, and even then whatever earned is the property of the master.

"According to Batlapin law, the slave has no wife, no children, and no property of any kind. The slaves cohabit with each other, and any children they have belong to the man's master. If a slave leaves the country for a time, and returns with a wife from some other tribe, or one of the neighbouring states, on his return the wife becomes the property of the husband's master. I know of one case of this sort, though I believe it is a very rare one.

"The Batlapin men nearly all wear clothes, in many cases of European make, but in most their clothing consists of a skin jacket and trousers. The slaves are not allowed to wear clothes unless by special permission of the master, and then they are liable to forfeit them whenever the master chooses.

"The population of Taungs is probably about 5,000 or 6,000, and the probable number of Mankoroane's free subjects is perhaps about 10,000 or 12,000, and allowing two slaves for every one free-born (a very low estimate) would give us about 20,000 slaves.

"Mankoroane's people are the dirtiest, most lazy, and generally the most degraded and useless tribe I have visited, and yet they cultivate enormous quantities of grain in good seasons. This season has been an exceptionally bad one, and I anticipate that very large numbers of the Batlapins will this winter be forced to the diamond fields for work. Among the Batlapins the power of life and death is vested in the chief and council. They bury their dead in a sitting position facing the north-east, because their tradition is that originally they came from that direction, and that the spirit's home is in that direction."

This report of Mr. Bailies differs very much from Mr. Forster's description of their condition, and the savage murders and mutilations that occurred last year, and during the war, show that any little civilisation they may have acquired lately is not very deep. That the natives are as bad in their treatment of each other as the Boers are asserted to be to them, I quote the evidence of the Rev. John Mackenzie, whose pamphlet inspired Mr. Forster's speech. When writing to Colonel Lanyon, the Governor of Griqualand West, regarding the condition of his district, and recommending then, as he does now, that we should take the management of the district, he said, when describing the laws necessary for its Government—

"It ought also to be enacted that not more than six or eight huts should be built on one farm. The inveterate desire of all natives to collect poorer or weaker people than themselves, and make them vassals, must be made impracticable and unlawful."

If this is necessary where they have had two generations of mission work and training bestowed upon them, what must be the condition of those who have not had those advantages, whose highest ideals are war and plunder, and who are constantly fighting with each other?

I have already given the testimony of the Governor of the Transvaal, and his advice to again incorporate this Keate Award Territory, or Bechuanaland, into the Transvaal State. On February 19th, 1879, Sir Bartle Frere forwarded a despatch from Colonel Lanyon (Sir William Owen Lanyon), the Governor of Griqualand West, also advising the incorporation of the territory into the Transvaal or annexing it to his colony. He states (C 2454, page 27) :—

"Mankoroane is powerless either for good or evil, and is, like all the other Batlapin chiefs, a mere puppet in the hands of the mischief-makers of his tribe."

He continues :—

"Unhappily deeds of aggression and murder have forced us to invade these Batlapin territories, and those who have committed these acts have been conquered. The others, who maintained, from their inherent weakness, a very questionable neutrality, have again petitioned to be brought under the peaceful sway of Her Majesty. To withdraw now would be regarded by them as weakness on our part. The chiefs, weak as they were before, would now be powerless for good, and the result would be that a state of anarchy would prevail which would be fatal to civilisation, and dangerous to the interests of surrounding territories.

"In writing this I do not wish your Excellency to suppose that I advocate the taking of the country by a strong hand, so as to displace the native for the advancement of the European. On the contrary, I would not wish to see one man ousted or one acre alienated. There is land in abundance for a fair population of whites without disturbing the aborigines."

In consequence of these reports the question of the future position of the country was placed in the hands of Sir George Colley, the then High Commissioner, who appointed Colonel Moysey to report as to the relative position of the white and native inhabitants of the territory, and before Sir George Colley could decide the Boers rose in arms to regain their independence, and very unfortunately he was shot on Amajuba Hill.

During the Transvaal War some of the native chiefs in the territory wished to take part in the struggle, and the Transvaal Government assert that they were incited to do so by the British native agents, and the action of these same agents since has shown that there were probably good grounds for the assertion. Sir Evelyn Wood reported (C 3098, page 3), "that during the war, Montsioa had been willing to take up arms and co-operate with the English garrison at Potchefstroom, but was deterred according to instructions given to all our Government officials."

Mankoroane was also willing to fight if we wanted him on our side. The reason is obvious. We had endeavoured to place them in a position to which they had no legitimate claim, and they knew that the Boers supported the claims of their rivals,

Moshette and Botlasitsie Gasibone, and they naturally thought the victory of the Boers would not have the effect of establishing them in the position they desired to occupy; but, although we declined their aid, Montsioa determined to go to war on his own account, and he ordered all the Boers to leave their farms on the district as it was Baralong land, and he was the chief of the Baralongs.

A meeting of the Baralong chiefs, Moshette, Montsioa, and Machabi, was held to consider what course they should take. Montsioa advocated supporting the English, Moshette and Machabi were more in favour of the Boers; but Moshette proposed they should wait and see which side was successful, and support the victors. As Machabi supported Moshette, and also was in favour of his claims for the paramountcy, Montsioa ordered him to leave the territory also, with his friends the Boers. Machabi had been located in Polfontein by President Burgers, in return for services rendered by himself and his father;—the place was in the possession of certain Boers at the time when the President bought them out and installed Machabi. Montsioa declared war against Machabi, made a night attack, surprised him and captured his place, killing 72 of Machabi's men, 12 of his women, burning some, skinning others, and cutting the heart out of Machabi's brother Stoffel (C 3098, page 36).

Moshette came to the support of Machabi, and the inter-tribal war began. When Sir Evelyn Wood was informed of this state of things he sent Major Buller to order "Montsioa to abstain from any further hostilities." Major Buller was accompanied by Mr.

P. J. Joubert on behalf of the Triumvirate. The two delegates persuaded the belligerents to agree to a truce, and allow the dispute to be settled by the Royal Commissioners. Unfortunately the Commissioners neglected to do so, and the promise made on their behalf by Major Buller was never carried out.

When the Royal Commission of which Sir Hercules Robinson was President met, Mr. Kruger gave them a history of the country, explaining how they had acquired the land, and how the native chiefs and their tribes emigrated into the territory after the Boers had conquered Moselikatsie. He said (C 3219, page 41) :—

"I should like to give the Commission the whole history of the country here. Moselikatsie belongs to the Zulu tribe. Manekos is also a Zulu, and so is Swazi's father, as well as Dingaan. These were four brothers. When Dingaan murdered their common father, Chaka, the four brothers separated. Moselikatsie came down in this direction (*pointing to map*), and in invading the territory he attacked the Batlapins and Baralongs, conquered them and took in the whole country. This happened in 1823, and before I was born; but we have all the documents to show you. All the Baralongs then fled to Blesburg in the Free State. The emigrant Boers, as is well known, came trekking up in 1835, and in 1836 they reached the Valsch River in the Free State. There were lesser chiefs living there then (I do not remember their names), and Potgieter went and bartered the ground from these lesser chiefs. Then Moselikatsie came unexpectedly and murdered the people there and took away all their cattle. He also took with him four white children. Then Montsioa, who was then living at the Blesburg, and Massouw and Machabi, these three being one tribe, came up from Blesburg; we were there without oxen, and they assisted us to take our wagons on. Then a commando went against Moselikatsie to recover our

property, and Machabi went to show the road. Montsioa was also asked to go with Potgieter, but refused; he was afraid of Moselikatsie. We then went with a small commando to Moselikatse, who lived in Marico, his chief town being on the Marico River, but he had kraals all round. We defeated him and drove him from Marico in a northerly direction (*pointing to the map*). We went back and returned with a second commando and attacked him a second time, Machabi accompanying us this time. Then we got our goods back again, and drove to the place where he is now, on this side of the Zambesi, far north. Massouw was chief of the Korannas at the time. His chief town is Mamusa; they had not left the country, but Moselikatsie was hunting them down in all directions, and they fled to the bush for protection. That was the only nation which Moselikatsie had not utterly destroyed; they were still left in the country when in the year 1840 the whites came to Potchefstroom to the Mooi River. Potgieter was our head at the time, and Machabi came with him. Potgieter promised Machabi some ground, seeing that he had helped us so faithfully. Owing to some neglect the land granted to Machabi was not surveyed. About the year 1842, when he was in Zoutpansberg, he took the line which the Kafirs pointed out to him as the country of Moselikatsie as the boundary. Then Montsioa sent a message in 1842, I believe, and asked Potgieter whether he would not give him a block of ground here (*pointing to the map*). Potgieter sent to fetch Montsioa, who had waited at Schoon spruit till the Government could show him the land he was to have. When old Mr. Pretorius became President he pointed out the land promised them by Potgieter. He showed the land to Montsioa first. Machabi was still at Mooi River as there was a question about his ground, which had been taken possession of by the white people. All the ground on the west side was conquered by the whites from Moselikatsie.

"(*Sir E. Wood.*) Was no line beaconed off?

"(*Mr. Kruger.*) The beacons were not actually set up, but they were mentioned. The chief Massouw had remained there and had not fled altogether. Potgieter also promised him ground, and afterwards Burgers had land surveyed and

gave him land in that neighbourhood (*pointing to the map*). Everything relating to the matter will be found in the documents I mentioned. From that time, 1840, Massouw never made any dispute, remaining a faithful subject of the State. Gasibone's father lived lower down, and part of his tribe lived on one side of the river and part on the other, but after the white people had driven Moselikatsie out they trekked in. They came from below the Orange River, Gasibone and the whole tribe of the Mahouras. When Gasibone came, he also asked Potgieter for permission to live on that ground. I mean old Gasibone. You will find statements and declarations proving the rights of the Republic, since 1840, to this ground. And then the arbitrators in the Keate award sat at Bloemhof, and made that line (*pointing to map*). Our Government entered a protest, but not to have any further trouble the Government itself arranged all these questions with the tribes living on each side of the line for the sake of peace.

* * * * *

"The Commission will understand that we lay claim to this territory from Moselikatsie's time, having driven Moselikatsie out of it."

In reply to Sir Henry de Villiers, as to the basis of his claim, Mr. Kruger replied: "My claims commence in 1838, but I am satisfied with the settlement that has been come to with Burgers and the tribes there; I do not insist on all my rights."

In reference to the war between Montsioa and Machabi, the Triumvirate seriously complained about the course pursued by Colonel Moysey and his agents, and they produced letters they had intercepted, in which Colonel Moysey had advised playing one tribe against another; and they also produced a letter they had intercepted of Bethel's, showing that he was inciting Montsioa to attack Machabi, and they

accused the Colonel himself of sending a message to Montsioa to hold himself ready with 2,000 men. The Royal Commission never came to any decision regarding the native war in the district; they were time after time pressed by the Boer authorities, and two days before the Convention was signed, the State Secretary, Mr. Bok, wrote on 1st August, 1881:—

"I am directed to respectfully bring to the notice of the Royal Commission that we have not yet received a reply respecting the case of Montsioa, and now beg to be informed if the Royal Commission have arrived at any decision in reference to our complaints, or whether they will leave it to the British Resident and the future Government."

Nothing was done by the Commission; they were more concerned in arranging satisfactory terms with the new Boer authorities than in settling native matters; they settled the question by making all the Baralong and Batlapin chiefs independent, and practically told them to fight out their quarrels amongst themselves.

The boundary line fixed by the Commission and inserted in the Convention was made upon the advice of Colonel Moysey: that gentleman was prepared with a number of boundary lines. He was prepared to advise one line if the country was to be under British government; another line, if made into a separate province—one line gave 90 square miles more to Montsioa than another. In his evidence Colonel Moysey supported the claims of the so-called loyal natives, and on his evidence the present line was adopted by the Commission. The following

extract will show the nature of his evidence (C 3219, page 80) :—

"With regard to the 14th paragraph of your memorandum, what further information do you require from the Commission ? Do you express your conviction that taking everything into consideration the 1st of July line is really the best to adopt ? —I have already said that I think there will be trouble up there if there is no agent to prevent the natives quarrelling. They will quarrel, and the Boers will assist them, I think.

"(*Sir H. de Villiers.*) You say that Montsioa is the Chief of the Baralongs ?—I say that he is looked up to as chief by most.

"Who is the paramount chief by virtue of native custom and native right ?—I go by what I see in the Bloemhof Arbitration Blue Book, and there Moshette is mentioned as paramount chief, and that he was born so.

"So that if any one has a right to Coetsee's farms by virtue of the Baralong occupation, it is Moshette and not Montsioa ? —I do not recognise the rights of any chief to them; I only recognise the right of the Baralongs.

"Montsioa has no rights then ?—Not in his own person.

"Montsioa has no right to be where he is at all in any part, where he is at present ?—The attitude taken by Montsioa is, that the country is Baralong country, and the business has to be settled between him and Moshette, and not between him and the Republic.

"Montsioa was originally located far to the west of the place where he is at present, was he not ?—He denies that he was ever located.

"Where did he first settle ?—The Baralong chiefs trek all over the country. So far as I can understand, his contention is that the country is theirs, and he settles where he likes.

"When you first drew the plan of what you thought Montsioa's people were fairly entitled to, you came from Ramathlabama to Leganka, and then to the north-west corner of the farm 'Wagen Drift' ?—No; I first drew the line above the corner of the farm to the actual drift.

"Just so; and now your line comes to the east of your original line along the wagon road?—Yes.

"By this change of line, therefore, you give a considerable territory to Montsioa's people, which they would not have had if your original line had been adopted?—Quite so.

"How many acres would that be in extent?—About 90 square miles, I think.

"Did the Boer leaders, when you saw them, express any desire to hear the native chiefs, Moshette, Machabi, and Montsioa?—They said if they could not get the line they were willing to agree to now, they would wish to hear the chiefs, and they would like those chiefs to be summoned who wished for the line to embrace them.

"What time would it take, do you think, to get all these chiefs here to be examined?—I do not think you could get them here under one month, at the earliest. Of course if you provided carts for them to come in, they might reach here much sooner; but if you send for a chief, he sets out with a number of wagons and a long cavalcade, so as to make an impression and show his position, and consequently he treks slowly.

"If we are to arrive at an immediate decision without hearing the witnesses whom the Boers wish to produce, would this new line proposed on the 1st of July be preferable, or your original proposal, the Hart's River line? Say we cannot hear the witnesses proposed by the Boers, which would be preferable under all the circumstances of the case, taking everything into consideration, the occupation, compensation, native claims, Boer claims, and everything else?—I have already said that I do not see my way to give a certain and decided answer. I do not know under what conditions native affairs on the border will be hereafter. I have already expressed that in my last memorandum.

"But as between the two courses; would it be better to hear all these chiefs whom the Boers wish to produce, or would it be better to adopt this compromise suggested in your memorandum of the 1st of July?—I am afraid I cannot answer that better than I have already in writing. I have mentioned my difficulty, and I cannot say any more.

"(*President.*) If you were in the position of the Commission, would you pin your faith to that line in preference to this (*pointing to the map*), and take the consequences?—If I was in the position of the Commission I should know how native affairs would be supervised on this border. I do not know now.

"Nothing has been decided about what is to be done outside the frontier; there may or may not be a Resident, we have not considered that yet; but in the Transvaal State the Commission has recommended, one member dissenting, that there be no sub-agents or Residents anywhere within the Transvaal, so now you know just as much as the Commission?—I would stick to the line I first recommended to the Commission on the 14th of May; but I would make a slight alteration in regard to these farms touching Molopo river (*pointing to the map*). I would cut all these into the Transvaal.

"(*Sir H. de Villiers.*) Suppose you had to choose between the two alternatives?—I think that very likely a more satisfactory result would be arrived at by hearing the natives. I think they would be more contented with any settlement that was come to.

"Would your opinion be changed in any way if a British Resident were stationed outside the Transvaal?—Yes, that would assist a good deal. If he was in communication with the Resident in the Transvaal, and had certain powers over the natives outside, and any remonstrances to the Government of the Transvaal as to what occurred on the border were attended to, then I think an official just outside the line might be as effectual as an assistant just inside the line.

"(*President.*) Unless for the purpose of going into the merits of the question as it appeared before Governor Keate, that is, the original rights of the Boers and the original rights of the natives, if we simply want to look at the present position as it exists, what could we gain by getting the natives to see us? Your map and your going over the country can tell us where they live, and what they now claim, and what would now satisfy them, if we are not going to reopen the question from the very beginning, before the Keate award,

and hear the case as it was presented by ten Bechuana chiefs who put their case before Governor Keate, and by the Transvaal arbitrator,—what do we gain by getting all this before us?—All you gain is that you hear from the Boers and their witnesses the different sides on which to base your decision, whereas now the Boers will say that I am doing them an injury by recommending a certain line, and the natives will say exactly the same. Montsioa will think I have done him an injury if the red line shown is adopted.

"(*Sir H. de Villiers.*) Although you give him 90 square miles more than you at first proposed to give?—Yes; but although on paper there is more square mileage it is not so good a line."

The Commission, on Colonel Moysey's *ex parte* evidence, without hearing those most interested, adopted the present boundary line, although even Colonel Moysey stated :—

"(*President Sir Hercules Robinson.*) If Machabi wishes to be inside the Transvaal, would that make any difference?—I would not let him go into the Transvaal and so injure the other natives.

"How would it injure the other natives?—If we put all his people inside the Transvaal, a great number of Montsioa's people would have to go in too, or else leave their ground. They are mixed up together in a certain measure. There are no boundaries between these people; it is a mere custom occupying a certain spot."

In the line adopted Machabi is taken into the Transvaal, and his own acknowledged paramount chief, Moshette, is left out, the same thing occurred with the lesser chiefs of the Korannas. On the decision being reported to the Boer authorities, Dr. Jorissen said:—

"We much regret a great breach is here committed of the rights of our country, inasmuch as the territory to be cut off is inhabited by natives and by burghers of the country, and

guaranteed to these people by the State, and as far as we know they do not desire to be separated from the State and removed from its protection. If the Royal Commission determines upon carrying out its line to the westward, they will ignore the wishes both of natives and burghers, and in any case we cannot be burdened with the responsibility for any troubles which may take place then among the Kafirs who are cut off from the protection of the State."

When Colonel Moysey went, in September, to lay down the beacons marking the boundary between the Transvaal and the natives, both Moshette and Massouw refused to allow him to make any line, and Massouw, by force, compelled him to leave the district. Colonel Moysey informed the Royal Commission of this fact, yet they did nothing to aid him in his work, and the boundary line was never beaconed off. In his attempt to beacon off the line through Moshette's territory he was accompanied and assisted by a force of Montsioa's men. Moshette asserts that he was never informed of the new line till Colonel Moysey came to beacon it off, and he ordered them away, as they were coming to take more of his land away from him; and two days after this unsuccessful attempt of Colonel Moysey's Moshette declared war against Montsioa, in order to recover the land and cattle that Montsioa had taken from him in May. He told General Joubert, when he went to try and arrange matters, that he was not responsible, "that he was not the cause or beginner of the war. He and his people had been attacked and murdered, their town burned, and everything robbed away. A commission had been sent some time since, Major Buller and Joubert. He had been forbidden to avenge himself on Montsioa,

and was told his case would come before the Royal Commission. He went to the Commission at Pretoria, but never got a hearing; no notice was taken of his reasonable complaints; land occupied by him and his people was, without his knowledge, cut off from the Republic (according to the Convention), under the protection of which he was always safe, and no war occurred."

He had not commenced any war. Montsioa was the attacking party. When at length no other course was open to him, and he obtained no justice, he took up arms in self-defence. When the news of this renewed outbreak reached Mr. Hudson, the British Resident in the Transvaal, he sent Captain Nourse as a Special Commissioner, instructing him to "endeavour to ascertain from each chief the causes which have created the existing ill-feeling between them, and you will use your best endeavours to preserve peace." "Pending the consideration of the report" he might send, Captain Nourse reported (C 3098, page 130) that he had interviewed both the chiefs. Moshette was willing to arrange matters, and to meet Montsioa for that purpose; Montsioa was not. Captain Nourse says, "I then asked the chief (Montsioa) if he would be willing to make another armistice until the matter could be referred to Pretoria. The chief's reply was, 'I am not agreeable unless Moshette goes into the Transvaal with everything, and so long as Moshette lives at Kanana there will be no peace.' I then asked the chief if he would be willing to meet Moshette if I could arrange it. He said he would not unless Moshette moved the whole of his people

into the Transvaal. . . . I told Montsioa that when Colonel Buller and Mr. Joubert came here to make peace the Boer and English Governments were very unsettled, and were fully occupied in making peace between themselves, and could not pay much attention to this border; but that now the peace was concluded between them the Government will be able to pay more attention to this case." Captain Nourse explained to Montsioa that he was making a great mistake in refusing to either arrange for an armistice or meet Moshette, and gave him time to reconsider the matter. Captain Nourse again saw Moshette, who agreed to sign an armistice and allow the matter to be settled by arbitration, on condition that each party returned the property he had captured, but Montsioa refused, although Captain Nourse told him "that I thought the terms Moshette was still willing to agree to were fair." He also told him that the conditions he, Montsioa, desired were not fair, and that he (Captain Nourse) had come to arrange matters fairly. During the first interview Captain Nourse had with Moshette, he asked what line of frontier would satisfy him (page 127), and Moshette "expressed his strong desire to become a Transvaal subject, as he had formerly been, and that the ground over which he claimed chieftainship should be brought within the line. The present position of the line between Machabi and Moshette, as defined by the Convention, appears to be very inconvenient, rendering Machabi subject to a divided allegiance on the one side to his head chief Moshette, and on the other to

the Transvaal Government under which he lives." Moshette also stated he would like the boundary to be made "just as it used to be under Burgers, so that we should be under the Boer Government." As Montsioa refused to come to terms the war continued, both sides having white volunteers to aid them. Moshette and his white allies have been successful, and the greatest part of Montsioa's territory has been given out in farms by Moshette to the white volunteers who assisted him. We are now asked to interfere and save Montsioa from the results of his own folly, and replace him in the position he was in before the war began.

The other war, one between Mankoroane and Massouw, in which, now that Mankoroane has been defeated, we are also asked to interfere, began by an unprovoked attack which he made on Massouw, paramount chief of the Korannas. The Korannas had been in the country long before the Batlapins, and Mankoroane had admitted the claim of old Massouw, the father of the present chief, but unfortunately, at the Bloemhof arbitration, the country was given to the Batlapins, or rather to Mankoroane as the paramount chief: hence he claimed Massouw and the Korannas as his subjects. Notwithstanding the assertion of Mr. Forster and the Rev. John Mackenzie, the official evidence clearly proves that Mankoroane was the aggressor, and that he has himself to blame for all his troubles; and the evidence also shows that not only in this war has he been the aggressor on the Korannas, but that he has also been threatening the Batloras, and other tribes; thus, on

19th February, 1882, the Rev. John Mackenzie himself sent a letter to Major Lowe, on behalf of Toto and Bareki, the Batlora chiefs, complaining of his conduct; it states (C 3381, page 90): —

"We speak about the various wars, and say we Batloras have no liking for them; last year Mankoroane sent to me Bareki, calling me, but I refused, saying to him I did not like war. He further wrote to me to say that if we did not help him he would attack us at Batloras, at Langberg, at Tsening, and at Tshoe; notwithstanding this we are not going into the war."

And the Rev. Henry R. Bevan also wrote to Major Lowe, on 29th February, 1882, stating (C 3381, page 66):—

"I am requested by Botlasitsie (Gasibone), the chief here, to tell you that Mankoroane, the chief at Taungs, threatens to attack him immediately, and that he is quite unprepared to meet such an attack. In this great emergency he ventures to ask whether it is in your power so far to assist him as to send a remonstrance to Mankoroane. Mankoroane has persistently tried to force Botlasitsie to war for a long time past, and in this he has been urged on by the agents and other white people, who, as you well know, are the bane of native chiefs, and also indeed are in a great degree responsible for the wars which are going on in this country. Botlasitsie has done his utmost to maintain neutrality, and has allowed me to advise and influence him in this direction. . . . The British Government probably has still a considerable moral influence over Mankoroane, and a representation from you might possibly still prevent him from falling upon the people here, who have done nothing at all to provoke him. I venture, therefore, to add my own entreaty to Botlasitsie that you will without delay do whatever you can to protect us."

When the Resident heard of this war he sent Captain Nourse to interview the chiefs, and see if

he could settle the quarrel. On arriving at the scene of hostilities, Captain Nourse thus reports :—

"On the morning of the 4th I interviewed Mankoroane, minutes of which I append, together with his statement. With regard to this statement, I am of opinion that not much reliance can be placed on it, and, from information gathered, I am convinced that the chief Mankoroane commenced the war with Massouw without sufficient reason, relying on assistance from the British Government should he be defeated, and wishing to help Montsioa. As far as I could learn, Mankoroane's intention was to disarm Massouw on account of the assistance rendered by him to Moshette, and then to attack Kanana, 'Moshette's station,' on the south side, thereby assisting Montsioa, who is fighting with him on the north side. However, Massouw, together with other petty chiefs who would not bear allegiance to Mankoroane, and took refuge under Massouw, repulsed all attacks upon him by Mankoroane, and has since collected more strength and attacked Mankoroane, causing him to retreat and act on the defensive. Up to the time of my departure Mankoroane had nineteen white volunteers, 'Englishmen,' but numbers were expected daily from the Diamond Fields. On my arrival at Kimberley I heard of a good many having left to join Mankoroane, and, in my opinion, unless stringent measures are used by both Governments to prevent the whites from taking part in the hostilities, it will eventually become a war between Englishmen on behalf of Mankoroane, and Boers on behalf of Massouw, and the more whites shot on both sides the greater the animosity will become."

When the Resident went himself to the seat of war in July, he told Mankoroane "that he was reaping the fruits of his own acts." "I told him plainly . . . that the British Government had information sufficient to justify it in believing that he, Mankoroane, had first attacked Massouw, and used white men as allies."

And my last quotation on this point is from the High Commissioner. In a despatch to the Earl of Kimberley, on April 1st, 1882, Sir Hercules Robinson says that Mankoroane "has only himself to blame for his present trouble, because, while living in peace and security at Taungs, he interposed unnecessarily in the quarrel between Moshette and Massouw on one side, and Montsioa on the other, by attacking Massouw."

Yet with all these facts before them, with the evidence of missionaries, a Special Commissioner, the British Resident, and the High Commissioner, Members of Parliament of high position assert that this war was begun by the Boers wantonly attacking the peaceful natives in order to rob them of their territory.

When Captain Nourse saw Massouw, that chief also complained that the new boundary line ran through his territory, cutting off a number of his subjects, and placing them under the Transvaal Government, and so dividing their allegiance. He also desired to be again taken into the Transvaal State, and he has asserted that he protested against being cut away from the Transvaal. Massouw also told General Joubert that it was his wish to live in peace and friendship with the South African Republic; he continues (C 3381, page 78):—

"It gives me sorrow to here bring to your notice that I and my people are cut off from the protection of the Republic by the new line, and that since then Mankoroane wishes by force to show his paramountcy, which does not belong to him, and for that purpose, and with the help of English volunteers

under him, has burned down my out-stations, has taken away my cattle, and has already attacked me four times here at Mamusa, and killed some of my people."

Massouw also sent the following statement to General Joubert, signed by himself and his chiefs, acknowledging the new boundary line, and giving his reasons for opposing it. He says :—

"I, David Massouw Reit Taaibosch, lawful great chief of the Korannas and their territory, with the consent of the great council as representing the said nation and ruling over their territory, quite voluntarily, and without any reservation in the world, declare hereby fully to acknowledge and respect the right and title of the South African Republic on and over the lands situate to the eastward of the line made and fixed by the Convention which was signed on the 3rd August, 1881; . . . and I declare further to have protested and to continue to protest against the said and herein above described line; only and simply because by the said line the territory of the Koranna nation is cut off, or rather removed from the rights assured to them by the concessions made between the now deceased great chief Massouw Reit Taaibosch and the President and Government of the South African Republic, by which protection and help were assured.

"The more so because by this line and separation our territory and natives are exposed to the political projects of false and low adventurers, who employ and allow their influence to be used with the restless Batlapins, the foremost of whom, Mankoroane, is now busy to carry out their despicable designs, . . . and by force of arms seeking to subdue us, burn our stations, steal our cattle, and kill our people. We declare never to have been subjects of the Batlapins, and will never submit as such; that the lands inhabited and possessed by us never belonged to the Batlapins, but are our lawful inheritance and possession; that we will never leave them but defend them; . . . and we hereby call for the help of all who love law and justice, in

the name of truth aud right, to help us to protect our lawful property against all our deceitful and covetous enemies."

We have seen that the Boers and Massouw and Moshette protested against Colonel Moysey's boundary line, the one adopted by the Royal Commission; that the war began again because the Royal Commission neglected to carry out the promise, made by Major Buller on their behalf, to arbitrate in the quarrel between Montsioa and Moshette; and the minutes of the Royal Commission show that the chairman, Sir Hercules Robinson, was principally to blame for this breach of faith with the native chiefs, and now, to defend his conduct, this same gentleman has misrepresented all the efforts of the Transvaal Government to remedy his blunders and omissions, and persistently maligned them. This is a very serious charge, but I will bring the evidence on which it is based.

When these native wars first began the Transvaal Government issued a neutrality proclamation warning their citizens to take no part on either side. As the war extended in its scope, the Transvaal State Secretary, on March 3rd, 1882, wrote to the British Resident, telling him the troubles on their south-western border were extending (C 3381, page 65):—

"The sole cause of these much-to-be-lamented troubles is the unfortunate boundary line made by order of the Royal Commission.

"In vain did we in good time give warning against it.

"The only measure possible to prevent bloodshed is a better division of the lands among the Kafirs.

"We entertain a good hope that we should be able to bring about a satisfactory division of the lands, and thereby

pacify the great majority of the Kafirs, and, if necessary, to enforce peace.

"We, therefore, pray you to come to the help of the Commandant-General, who is just now on the western borders, and propose to you to authorise, conjointly with him, the taking of the necessary steps to restore order and to put a stop to the shedding of blood, by an equitable division of the land.

"Seeing that every day blood is shed, a speedy answer is desirable."

The Resident's Secretary, in reply on the same date (page 65), informed the State Secretary :—

"The representation made by your letter, and the desire expressed for some joint action in the matter, on the part of the British Resident, in the direction of a modification of the territorial lines settled by the Royal Commission . . . Deeply as the British Resident must and does feel the difficulty of the position, and desirous as he is to render any aid in his power, . . . it is not possible for him to interfere at once, and directly in the way and to the extent desired by your letter; all that can be done at the moment is to lay the matter as quickly as possible before his Excellency the High Commissioner, and to ask for prompt instructions."

On March 9th, 1882, the Resident's Secretary asked the State Secretary to send him a clear statement of the changes the Transvaal Government desired, and the reasons they had for making them. On the 10th the State Secretary replied stating that General Joubert had reported that :—

"These fightings, this murdering, bloodshed, and robbery of cattle which are going on, have no other origin than the border line as now fixed by the Convention, by which Kafir tribes, which during many years were protected by our Government, and which, contrary to their expressed desire, will have been cut off from it, and in some instances have

even been subdivided, so that one portion has fallen within, and another beyond, the Republic.

"That wars would necessarily arise as a result, no one who has any knowledge of the natives, or local experience, has ever doubted.

"During the sitting of the Hon. the Royal Commission at Pretoria, the members of the Transvaal Commission there repeatedly pointed this out; but other advice given by persons animated by nothing else than the lowest self-interest has triumphed.

"We saw at the time clearly that these persons had no other object or intention before their eyes than that by forbidding our intervention among the antagonistic natives, by which an entirely depopulated region would be brought about, —and as a result of their intrigues, Her Britannic Majesty would, in all probability, find herself compelled to declare the depopulated region British territory, and deprive the lawful owner thereof.

"We therefore propose to alter and extend the boundaries, so that those tribes who wish to continue to enjoy the protection of the South African Republic may again be brought within our borders."

On March 13th the Resident asked "the particular Kafir tribes or captains proposed to be included." On March 15th the Transvaal Secretary replied (page 80):—

"I am instructed to reply that the line, as contemplated by this Government, and which is the only one that can give satisfaction to all the natives concerned, is that made by President Burgers, with consent and approbation of all the chief captains who were the lawful occupants of the land. *According to this line, Moshette and Massouw fall within our Republic, and would enjoy our protection, as they have always wished. Montsioa and others who do not desire this protection would fall outside this line.*"

This proposal of the Transvaal Government is

clear and explicit. Yet Sir Hercules Robinson contrived to misunderstand it, and in a despatch dated March 20th, 1882, page 64, informed Lord Kimberley that he had received a letter from the Transvaal State Secretary expressing the opinion that the sole cause of the troubles upon the western border is the boundary line made by the Royal Commission, and that the only remedy is a better division of the land among the Kafirs :—

"I apprehend, from the explanations contained in a telegram of later date than the (Transvaal) State Secretary's letter of the 3rd, that the opinion which he means to convey is that if the Royal Commission had included in the Transvaal State the whole of the Keate Award territory, the Government would have been able to prevent or suppress the native troubles that have arisen there. By the remedy which he proposes, namely, "an equitable and better division of the lands among the Kafirs," I understand him to mean the annexation of the whole territory of the Keate Award.

"It appears to me that it would have been unjust for the Royal Commission to have included in the Transvaal the territories of independent native chiefs, such as Montsioa, Mankoroane, and others, who have always been faithful British allies, and who were not willing to come under the Government of the new State."

The Transvaal Government are not alone in thinking that the High Commissioner had wilfully misrepresented them. This charge is made very distinctly by Mr. Statham, the editor of the "Natal Witness," in his issue of November 11th, 1882. He says :—

"Sir Hercules Robinson, we will venture to affirm, never for a single instant understood the proposals of the Transvaal Government to mean 'the annexation of the whole

territory of the Keate Award.' This language was used by him for the purpose of deliberately misrepresenting the Transvaal Government, while, as we shall see directly, he probably knew well enough that the Transvaal Government expressly disclaimed wishing to exercise authority over 'Montsioa, Mankoroane, and others who had always been faithful British allies, and who were not willing to come under the Government of the new State.' But did Sir Hercules Robinson know that this was what was meant when he wrote that despatch? We assert fearlessly that he did know, and that the 'telegram of a later date' referred to in his despatch of the 20th March was a telegram from the British Resident conveying the substance of the letter from the Transvaal Government of the 15th. That 'telegram of later date,' however, is not published.

"But grant that Sir Hercules Robinson did not know on the 20th March quite what the Transvaal Government meant, did he ever correct the statement he sent home? The letter written by Mr. Bok, the Transvaal State Secretary, on the 15th March, was in the hands of Sir Hercules Robinson before the 4th April, for on that day he sent home a despatch enclosing it to Lord Kimberley. Did Sir Hercules Robinson say a single word to correct the misrepresentation of his despatch of the 20th March? No, not one single word! But what will be said when it is known that this reply of the High Commissioner's, wearing the appearance of a reply on the whole question, was written on the 31st March, *four days before* Sir Hercules Robinson had posted to Lord Kimberley Mr. Bok's letter explaining, in a manner which cannot but seem satisfactory and reasonable to all impartial minds, the real nature of the request of the Transvaal Government?

"There can be no question that both the High Commissioner and the British Resident have been guilty of gross and wilful misrepresentation—misrepresentation indulged in for the express object of injuring the Transvaal Government and bringing about diplomatic difficulties, in the hope of discrediting the policy that led to the restoration of inde-

pendence to the Transvaal, and bringing about a renewal of British interference."

It is time, for the sake of all concerned, that the suppressed despatches should be published, because, judging from the extracts incidently given in Lord Kimberley's reply, the High Commissioner has very much misrepresented and slandered the Transvaal Government. Lord Kimberley says in his reply :—

"In your first telegram of the 9th instant you informed me that you could not recommend assent to the Transvaal proposal, which, although it might perhaps afford temporary relief to Mankoroane and Montsioa, would be full of danger for the future. You said that Moshette and Massouw's territories would at once be given out in farms and the natives subject to taxation, and that they probably did not realise this."

Sir Hercules Robinson knows very well that this statement of his is a pure calumny, that the native property and locations are secured to them by the laws of the Transvaal as much as they are by the laws of Natal.

As to Moshette and Massouw not realising the position they would be placed in under the Transvaal law, these chiefs knew much more about it than Sir Hercules Robinson ; they had been subjects of the Transvaal before, and they had been cut away from the Republic against their wish. Moshette had even been an apprentice in the Transvaal in his younger days, and served his term with a Boer master. When Sir Hercules Robinson was chairman of the Royal Commission, President Kruger, Ex-Presidents Joubert and Pretorius, and Dr. Jorissen

all explained the law of the Transvaal in reference to native property, and their position in the country; but of course Sir Hercules Robinson would rather accept the statements of creatures like King, Daumas, and Co., than the gentlemen I have named.

I now come to the report of the Commission appointed by the Volksraad. I print the greatest part of it, and the reply of Sir Hercules Robinson. The Commission thus reports :—

"Your Commission must distinctly speak out. The blame of all the atrocities perpetrated on the western borders lies with the political system, which from 1873 up to 1880 has led the policy of the English Government on an erroneous course, and led it to injustice and to the violation of secured rights.

"It is our solemn conviction that warnings have not been wanting. During the proceedings of the Royal Commission the following solemn declaration was made:—That we would submit ourselves generally to the cutting off of territory, only after we came to see that it was useless for us to speak about our rights.

* * * * *

"That the line proposed by Colonel Moysey made aggressions on the rights of the country; that dwellers within our land were cut off against their wish; that these tribes had lived for many years in friendship with the Republic, and that the Republic had accorded them her protection by solemn treaty; that the change of boundary, which cast them out of the State, gave them over, helpless, powerless, to their enemies; that, if they should in vain look to her for protection, they would accuse us of breach of faith; that we must be restrained beholders of the endless bloody disputes among the Kafir tribes; and that we as distinctly as possible disavowed all responsibility for possible troubles, and left them to the account of that power which compelled us passively and submittingly to look on at the injustice.

"This earnest declaration should have prevented the

Secretary of State for the Colonies from in any way holding the Republic responsible for troubles beyond our borders.

"These troubles were foreseen by us. The representatives of the people warned against them, and predicted them.

"The causes of these troubles were briefly these :—

"1. The land now cut off from our country belongs lawfully to the Republic.

"2. These lands have been cut off without the slightest care; the result being that now no one of the Kafir tribes knows what line it must adhere to. The Royal Commission has deprived the Kafir tribes of the protection which they had from the Republic, and has settled nothing, as among the tribes themselves. Thus, without leaving to this country the right of intervention, the Royal Commission has burdened it with all the difficulties of barbarous strife on its borders, which it is powerless to restrain; and, besides, has exposed it to being blamed in Europe as oppressing the Kafirs.

"The tactic employed during late years has been this: the violation of the old rights of the lawful great chiefs, and the putting in their place of new persons or candidates who had no clear claims. Thus Montsioa has been put above his lawful superior chief, Moshette, and Mankoroane above Gasibone. All the arguments employed since 1872 had availed nothing.

"Montsioa made an attack on Moshette in May, 1881. On the first report thereabout there arose serious discussions between the members of the Royal Commission and the members of the Transvaal Commission.

"The inroad made by Montsioa excited great disquiet among our people, and the Commandants Cronjé and Gref felt themselves obliged to call up a burgher guard for the protection of the borders.

"At first the Royal Commission seemed inclined to accuse and blame these commandants; but, becoming better informed as to the true position of affairs, it was agreed by the members of the Royal Commission and the members of the Triumvirate to send Colonel Buller and the Commandant-General P. J. Joubert to the disturbed region to make an investigation.

"The investigation took place. What the nature of Colonel Buller's report was your Commission is not aware; but the report of the Commandant-General was sent to the Royal Commission, with a host of proofs of Montsioa's guilt, and insisting upon his being righteously punished for his many murders.

"This the Commission again urged by another letter, dated 24th June, but all in vain. The Royal Commission did not concern itself further in this case, and left everything in an unsettled condition.

"It must be presumed that their view was, that if they followed the report of Colonel Moysey as to a new boundary line all difficulties and troubles would disappear of themselves. The new line was fixed by the Convention, and forced upon us, to act at once as a magical charm in putting an end to all difficulties.

"But it is easier to make a boundary line on paper than to put an end to disturbances and dissatisfaction.

"Experience, alas! has taught this. Colonel Moysey in his report declares in the clearest manner that he was unable to set up beacons for whole lengths of country, because the Kafirs would not allow him to do it.

"Thereupon he went quietly away to Europe, made his written report, and left behind him an open source of atrocities.

"There was not long to wait; Moshette, fruitlessly relying upon the decision of the Royal Commission, promised to him by Colonel Buller and General Joubert, and not obtaining justice, resolved to be his own judge and to avenge himself.

"That is the attack in October last, which the evil-minded press of the peace disturbers in Kimberley and Natal put to the account of the 'Boers' they so hate! Since that time heaven and earth have been moved to bring about a new intervention by the British Government. This, of course, means the gold which the troops bring with them for the hungry adventurers. They well know how to set as many wires as possible in motion to excite the self-love of the English nation. To this end serve the lying statements that great commanders of Boers have trespassed beyond the

borders. The accounts fabricated by them of murders and homicides cannot fail to wake up the Christian people of England. If only official sensitiveness about violation of boundaries fixed by the Convention unites with the sincere but blind missionary zeal of the so-called 'Exeter Hall' party, then it becomes almost mathematically certain [*sic.* 'wiskundig zeker'] that new expeditions will be sent out from England.

"In this way Kafir wars are made, and how often have not their plans already succeeded]? What do these speculators in the supplies for the troops care for such a disaster as Isandulana? A thousand killed signifies a thousand men too few who must be sent out from England at heavy expense, which chiefly comes into their pockets.

"Your Commission is becoming severe in its judgment, it will be said perhaps. But how can it be otherwise, when it is seen that their lying representations, and the untruths which, with such craftiness, are sent to England, in direct opposition to the facts, are published, as may be seen as clearly as the sun from the official reports of English officials in the Blue Books?

"One of the chief causes of misunderstanding is the notion that the barbarous Kafir tribes may be divided, in a certain political sense, into British-affected 'loyal' and Boer-affected 'disloyal' Kafirs. Even if there were any pretence for this notion, still sound policy would dictate not to attach much weight to it, in view of interminable disastrous consequences which such a policy involves for the future of South Africa. While reconciliation between Africanders and Englishmen is desired, shall the firebrand of nationality be thrown among the Kafirs? One shudders to contemplate the horrors which the introduction of such a controversy among the millions of blacks in South Africa will produce.

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"Your Commission thinks that the origin of these troubles is to be found therein, just as the renewed outbreak thereof in last October and the continuance thereof is the consequence of the passive attitude of the Royal Commission.

* * * *

"The Government does what it can to prevent the burghers taking part in the strife, but it cannot prevent them, just as little as the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England can prevent it.

* * * * *

"Powder and ammunition are regularly supplied from Kimberley, and English volunteers take part in the wars without being interfered with.

"But just for these reasons must a conclusive step be taken. A condition of robbery, freebooting, murder, and homicide must cease. The influence of the Republic is great enough to enforce peace, if only the chiefs come to know that the old farce of 'loyal' and 'Boer-affected' Kafirs is no longer countenanced by the English Government. In other words, when they see that they can no longer take advantage of the disunion between England and the Republic, because such disunion no longer exists, there is peace.

"Let the old border lines established by solemn cession be restored. Between the Kafir races, Batlapins and Korannas, let internal arrangements be made, and let the British Resident and the President of the Republic be appointed as witnesses and perpetual arbitrators in regard to all border matters.

"Your Commission has thus recorded, in general terms, the impression which a cursory perusal of the documents has produced.

"The proof of all they have stated is at hand, although they have not in each instance made a specific reference.

"There is too much danger in delay. They cannot longer witness the progress of robbery and murder, and, therefore, suggest to the Volksraad to give the Government the following instruction :—

"Considering that the existing border line, as established by the Convention on the south-west boundary of the country, is the inducing cause of the incessant disturbances and atrocities on our borders;

"Considering that the absence of beaconing-off lines between the various Kafir tribes beyond our borders is the occasion of continual wars ;

"Considering that it is impossible for our Republic to tolerate any longer the present condition of things, the Volksraad resolves: That the Government immediately propose to the British Resident that they should send a Commission to put an end to the aforesaid troubles; that this Commission should regulate the boundary in accordance with the still existing treaties between the Republic, Moshette, Massouw, Gasibone, &c., namely, between the Republic and the natives, and between the native tribes among themselves."

Sir Hercules Robinson, in sending the report to Lord Kimberley, states:—

"The resolution affirms that the boundary on the south-western border, as laid down in the Convention, is the 'inducing cause' of the present disturbances, and that the absence of clearly defined boundaries between the Kafir tribes beyond it is the occasion of continual wars. The Volksraad accordingly recommends that the Transvaal Government and the British Resident should send a Commission to regulate the boundary of the State in accordance with the treaties entered into between the Republic and Moshette, Massouw, and Gasibone, and to define the boundaries between the Republic and the natives, as well as between the native tribes among themselves.

"I am unable to concur in the view taken by the Volksraad as to the cause of the present troubles, or as to the fairness of the course recommended for putting an end to them. As far as I can see, there are no facts stated in the report of the Commission of the Volksraad, which support the opinion expressed by it as to the origin of the disturbances, or which tend to justify the remedy suggested for their removal.

"It appears to me that tribal feuds and differences of old standing have existed between the various native chiefs in the country known as the Keate Award territory, long before the Convention line was laid down. These disputes were not generally traceable to the absence of beaconed boundary lines between one chief and another, this being a state of things

which has existed from time immemorial, but they were mainly attributable to rival claims for paramountcy, the British Government and the South African Republic having supported different claimants, whilst the South African Republic had accepted from the chiefs, whose pretentions they upheld, the cession of their respective territories.

"The parties to these feuds had for some time been restrained from breaking out into open warfare by the annexation of the Transvaal, and by the belief which was entertained by the various chiefs that they were in some indirect way amenable to British jurisdiction and control. When, however, the retrocession of the Transvaal took place, and the British troops were withdrawn from that province, this feeling of restraint was removed, the chiefs having been informed that it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to exercise any jurisdiction over the chiefs and tribes inhabiting the territory beyond the new Transvaal boundary line, and that their independence was fully recognised.

"Hostilities thereupon soon commenced between the Baralong chiefs, Moshette and Montsioa, and between the Koranna and Batlapin chiefs, Massouw and Gasibone, on one side, and Mankoroane and Mathlabani on the other. All these chiefs were left by the Convention in independence outside the boundary of the Transvaal, and if they had been allowed to settle their disputes and rival claims amongst themselves, their differences would probably before long have been adjusted. But, unfortunately, a number of Transvaal burghers, influenced by a desire for the plunder of cattle, and for the acquisition of land, took the part of Moshette against Montsioa, and of Massouw and Gasibone against Mankoroane and Mathlabani, in open violation of the proclamation of neutrality issued by the Transvaal State.

"During these hostilities, Montsioa, Mankoroane, and Mathlabani have scrupulously respected the Transvaal boundary line as laid down by the Convention. Not so their opponents, Moshette, Massouw, and Gasibone, who, aided by Boer freebooters, have had the advantage of the Transvaal territory as a place for organizing marauding expeditions, for procuring ammunition, and for disposing of captured stock.

"It is therefore, I maintain, altogether a mistake to allege that the border line, as established by the Convention, on the south-western boundary of the Transvaal, is the 'inducing cause' of the existing disturbances and atrocities on the border. The contending chiefs and tribes are, as I have observed, all outside the Transvaal boundary, and that line does not in any sense, or in the slightest degree, constitute an ingredient in their quarrels amongst themselves.

"The remedy proposed by the Volksraad is in effect that the whole of the country now in the possession of the Baralongs, Batlapins, and Korannas should be included in the Transvaal State, and locations assigned within it to the various chiefs and tribes. This is simply a repetition of the claim advanced by the Triumvirate, to which the Royal Commission, after the fullest consideration, felt it could not in justice agree.

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"If whilst firmly adhering to the present border line of the Transvaal, as laid down by the Convention, it should be found that the various Bechuana tribes outside really desire that their boundaries between each other should be defined, I could, as High Commissioner, select an impartial and independent Commission to undertake such a work. But it certainly appears to me that the Transvaal Government which claims the whole territory, and maintains the right of Moshette, Massouw, and Gasibone, to dispose of it without reference to the other chiefs, could scarcely with fairness be allowed to have a voice in the adjudication of such a matter."

There are several inaccuracies in this reply of the High Commissioner. He insinuates that the war was caused by the desire of the Transvaal burghers to plunder the natives of their cattle and their land; but Sir Hercules Robinson is well aware of the fact that it was not the Transvaal citizens, but English subjects, and our own paid agents, men like Messrs. Daumas and King and Mr. Bethel, who were the real

instigators of the war. It was established by the correspondence given in evidence before the Royal Commission that Bethel, Montsioa's agent, had instigated Montsioa to begin the war by attacking Machabi, and the following extracts show what King and Daumas have done in reference to the second war—a war for which the High Commissioner himself admits Mankoroane is to blame. The evidence shows that Sir Hercules Robinson knew what his agents were doing. On 9th February, 1882, Captain Nourse telegraphed to him (C 3381, page 34) :—

"With regard to the war now going on between the chiefs David Massouw and Mankoroane, the latter is entirely to blame for its commencement. Massouw is acting exactly in the same way as Moshette, and derives great assistance from the Transvaal State. Both chiefs are actively employing white men to fight for them. Massouw is raising 300 Boers, to receive half booty and a farm each in Mankoroane's territory, should they drive him off it.

"I cannot too strongly condemn the actions of Messrs. A. Daumas and C. King. Both, I believe, are receiving Government pay, and are employed as Government agents in Mankoroane's country, by not only personally fighting for him, but allowing themselves to be employed as recruiting agents, and making every endeavour to obtain ammunition for him to carry on the war."

On 21st February, 1882, the Civil Commissioner at Barkly informed the Secretary for Native Affairs :—

"I have explained to Mr. Daumas, Mankoroane, and Kantlapan, that the Cape Government intend assuming the attitude of strict neutrality in the present disturbance beyond our borders; but I cannot help thinking there is a good deal of truth in Mr. Bevan's letter, where he states that the

agents are to a great degree responsible for the present disturbance. *Mr. King and Daumas took upon themselves to go out with Mankoroane to attack David Massouw, instead of remaining at their stations, and, as far as I can understand, both these agents are assisting Mankoroane in the field. Under all circumstances I do not consider that the agents are of any assistance to the Government, but appear only useful in egging on the several chiefs into hostilities, which may result in very serious consequences.*"

On 10th February, 1882, the Secretary for Native Affairs, Cape Colony, wired to Civil Commissioner, Kimberley:—

"Please send the following message without delay to Daumas and King, who are with Mankoroane, viz.: It has come to the knowledge of Government, that both of you, who are Government agents in Mankoroane's country, are not only personally fighting for him, but allowing yourselves to be employed as recruiting agents, and making every endeavour to obtain ammunition for him to carry on the war. This is such a glaring violation of your duty as officers of Government that it can hardly be credited. If, however, the statement is correct, I am to direct you at once to desist and to abstain from taking any part, directly or indirectly, in the war in which Mankoroane is engaged, and to call upon you for an immediate and full explanation of such reprehensible conduct."

And these gentlemen have been dismissed with a month's notice and "a gratuity each of three months' pay," and a hint that their services may again be required; these agents of Sir Hercules Robinson's Government in the Cape fought during the entire war, and they are still there looking after their own interests. I give, without comment, their defence:—

"Should we be recalled by Government now that Mankoroane is in such jeopardy through Boer assistance, in the shape of ammunition and volunteers, all the native tribes will consider that the British Government is deserting, and has handed over Mankoroane, who has always been its loyal friend, to the Transvaal to be crushed. This will be very detrimental to British prestige in South Africa.

"Our private reason is that the natives and all who have known us here would look upon us as cowards if we left this place now that Mankoroane is short of ammunition, and the rebel chiefs have been so far successful on account of the assistance they have received from the Boers, thereby being camped close to Taung and threatening to attack it again notwithstanding they have been twice repulsed with heavy loss."

Messrs. King and Daumas now appear in a new character: they have signed some of the official documents as Bechuana chiefs, and Mr. Hudson tells us that Daumas has adopted native habits "and, though an European, is reputed to be as much a Kafir as Mankoroane."

The assertion of the High Commissioner that Mankoroane has always respected the Transvaal boundary line, while his opponents have not done so, is also inaccurate. In Captain Nourse's report (C 3381, page 49) I find that when Mankoroane began the war he moved with a force across the boundary line into the Transvaal, that he bribed the Commandant of the Christiana district, Antony Kok, to aid him, and promised Kok a thousand head of cattle for his assistance during the attack. Kok, with about fifty Boers, assisted Mankoroane and drove Massouw's cattle across the river. Mankoroane's force then retired with the cattle, but Mas-

souw's men followed them and re-captured the cattle. General Joubert suspended Kok for this transaction, and appointed Piet Uys Commandant in his stead. Major Lowe also reported that Mankoroane's people were using part of Griqualand for their raids on Gasibone, and the Major ordered their huts to be burned.

The war was carried on by the contending chiefs, with the aid of white volunteers, who were hired on the condition that they would be repaid for their services with farms in the territory of the conquered chiefs. Several hundred of these volunteers from the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and the Cape Colony, assisted Moshette and Massouw, and they have conquered Montsioa and Mankoroane, and the largest and best part of the land of the last-named chiefs have been divided amongst the volunteers. Mr. Hudson tells us there are about 500 or 600 of these volunteers settled in the territory. About 120 are deserters from the English army and English colonists, and the remainder, I believe, are Boers, about equally divided in number from the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Mankoroane and Montsioa began the war, first used white volunteers, and now, when they have been beaten with their own weapons, the pupils surpassing the masters, we are asked to interfere and restore them to their former position.

The volunteers who were serving with Mankoroane and Montsioa have coalesced with those of Moshette and Massouw, and the combined volunteers have organised themselves into two Republics, the one in the Batlapin district called Stellaland, and the other in the Baralong district called Goshen.

The problem now is, what should be done in the disturbed district? We are told by the High Commissioner and the Resident, that there are four courses open to us:—First, the annexation of the district by the Imperial Government; second, its annexation by the Cape Colony, or its division between the Cape Colony and the Transvaal; third, the annexation of the whole territory by the Transvaal Government; fourth, do nothing and allow matters to settle down as chance may allow. If we attempt to carry out the first plan we will require, according to the report of the Resident, a force of at least 2,000 men, and that this force, after conquering the territory, must remain for a long time in it, in order to protect it afterwards. In his despatch of January 6th, 1883, the Resident says (C 3486, page 53):—

"What can be done by way of remedy to a state of things so politically difficult and embarrassing, so lamentable in itself, and so repulsive to every just and humane principle and feeling, and to diminish, and as soon as possible to remove, a danger which appears to be highly critical and to threaten the peace, and indefinitely retard the progress, of this part of South Africa?

* * * * *

"The decided intervention of Her Majesty's Government is a suggestion largely advocated; but this, to be effectual, must be forcible and sufficiently strong; a weak military force could not cope quickly and conclusively with the stamp of men who now hold lawless and defiant possession of the country; no Imperial military expedition would receive assistance from the other Governments of South Africa. These men, numbering now between five and six hundred, consider themselves to have an absolute and indefeasible

title to the land they have conquered. Upon any show of force, not manifestly and absolutely sufficient to overawe and compel submission, this number would, undoubtedly, be considerably increased by sympathisers and adventurers from the Transvaal, Free State, and probably also from the Colonial borders. The expense would be very great, and a fresh settlement after all be necessary. There could hardly be a simple return to and enforcement of the *status quo ante*. I can hardly anticipate that Her Majesty's Government would undertake the task in this form, and for such purpose only. There are, besides, other and very grave considerations affecting South African feelings and interests involved in the adoption of such a policy.

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"I cannot conceal that I have, however, reluctantly come to the conclusion, notwithstanding my condemnation of the unlawful, uncompromising, defiant, and dishonest means by which the large number of white men have acquired such rights as they have done and determinedly exercise in land which certainly does not belong to them, it is now not possible to regard or set aside the *de facto* possessions they hold; but I believe that means might be found, as the result of inquiry, to reduce and, to a great extent, abrogate, a good deal of the forcible seizures of native lands which have taken place under colour of 'Treaties of Peace,' and to secure to the unfortunate Natives some clear respite from the fate which, in the absence of some intervention of a definite kind, very approximately waits them.

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"Can things be left just as they are?—hold the Cape and Transvaal Governments bound to the present Convention line, and refuse to concur in any extension of frontier and still leave the unfortunate Natives, so many of whom have confided in and trusted all their fortunes to the English authority, name, and support to the results of a miserable technical 'independence,' for the maintenance of which they obtain no assistance? The result of such a policy of abstention must, I think, be disastrous to them."

The course advised by the Resident is to appoint a Commission composed of one representative for the Cape Colony and one for the Transvaal Government, with himself as Resident, to divide the territory between the Cape Colony and the Transvaal. This is a very wise suggestion, but unfortunately the Cape Government will not accept it, and on several occasions have refused to take any part of the territory. Some of their minutes on the question are almost as curt and undiplomatic as those of the Transvaal Government. Sir Hercules Robinson thus reports the result of his negotiations with the Cape Premier :—

"I have spoken to Mr. Scanlen, the Premier of the Colony, as to the second course, and he assures me that any idea of the Cape accepting such a responsibility . . . may at once be abandoned, as he would be no party to submitting any such proposal to Parliament. He considers that there will probably always be trouble outside any northern colonial border that could be fixed upon, . . . and that, looking to the result of the intervention undertaken in the case of the Basutos to save them from extinction, the Colony is certainly not prepared to incur the trouble, expense, and risk of taking the Batlapin tribes under its rule, with the contingent obligations of having to fight the Boer freebooters in the first instance, and possibly the Batlapins later on when the present danger to them shall be over, and the pressure of colonial control alone be left."

As to the third course, permitting it to be again incorporated into the Transvaal State, Sir Hercules Robinson is strongly opposed to such a course, and, as usual when writing on the subject, places the worst possible construction on all the Transvaal Govern-

ment have done in the past, and what he supposes they will do in the future. It is a matter of no consequence to the High Commissioner that what he is so confidently predicting as the future intentions of the Transvaal Government is a course contrary to the fundamental law of the country, and has been indignantly repudiated by them. Sir Hercules Robinson's advice is, that if we do not carry out the first proposal and annex the territory ourselves, we ought to let things alone. The absurd and unjust Keate Award is to him the perfection of equity and sound policy. So, likewise, is the equally unjustifiable boundary line laid down by the Commission, of which he was the Chairman, in 1881, notwithstanding the protests of both the Boers and the Natives. When Chairman of the Royal Commission he entirely ignored the fact that the Keate Award had, as Sir Theophilus Shepstone said, handed the territory over to land speculators and adventurers, and the anarchy of tribal disputes and disturbances. Without hearing some of the parties principally interested, he adopted a boundary line that Colonel Moysey, who proposed it, was not even able to beacon off; and when, in consequence of his impatience, and his want of good faith in refusing to carry out the arbitration between Montsioa and Moshette, which Major Buller guaranteed should be done, the condition of things has occurred that the Boer leaders foretold, and of which our own Governors and our officials who best knew the district had also previously warned us of, this statesman still defends his discredited policy, mis-

represents and abuses the Transvaal Government to, if possible, prevent a wiser one being adopted, and actually recommends us to allow the present condition of bloodshed and anarchy to continue, that Bechuanaland should still remain a field where all the rowdies and adventurers of South Africa, the deserters and outlaws of both races, can indulge unchecked in plunder and rapine. The latest telegrams tell us he is returning to England. I trust he will remain at home, and that a new High Commissioner will be sent out to inaugurate a totally different policy. If we refuse to interfere ourselves or allow the Transvaal Government to do so, the responsibility of prolonging the bloodshed and anarchy will lie upon us, and we will again destroy those we desired to protect. Sir Hercules Robinson is not only responsible for the policy that originated the disorders; he is also, to a large extent, responsible for their continuance. He has met all the offers of the Transvaal Government with insulting incredulity, more or less misrepresenting them, and advising their rejection. When peace was arranged between Montsioa and Moshette, and between Mankoroane and Massouw, and they wished the Transvaal Government to take over the territory and arbitrate between the opposing parties, he refused to permit this course to be adopted, as it was contrary to his Convention,—that this Convention had been accepted by the Triumvirate, and ratified by the Volksraad. But here he again misrepresents facts; it was accepted by the Triumvirate under protest, and only ratified provisionally by the Volksraad in order to

give it a trial, they having been requested to give it a trial by Lord Kimberley in his telegrams.

By the course he has pursued Sir Hercules Robinson has made things very much worse for Mankoroane and Montsioa than they would otherwise have been, and these unfortunate chiefs may well pray to be saved from their friends. They signed treaties of peace agreeing to surrender the largest portion of their land to make farms for the white volunteers, and they wished the Transvaal Government to act as arbiter and define the new border; but the High Commissioner tried to prevent any interference, and the result is that the adventurers and freebooters have simply taken whatever pleased them, and unless they are checked, if the territory should remain a field for all the vagabondage of South Africa to run riot in, the territory of the Batloras and other tribes will probably be attacked and still greater evils may occur. Moshette, Montsioa, Massouw, Mankoroane, all the chiefs who have been engaged in the struggle, have asked the Transvaal Government to take them under its protection; they have signed formal documents asking to be incorporated again in the Transvaal Republic. We have prevented this being done because, according to the Convention, such an act requires our consent. On what grounds can we refuse if both the native chiefs and the Transvaal Government are willing? Lord Derby has made one of his usual able and statesmanlike speeches during the debate on the question in the House of Lords, and I have no doubt when Dr. Jorissen, the Attorney-General

of the South African Republic, who is at present in London, brings the evidence of his Government before Lord Derby, our new Secretary for the Colonies will exhibit that spirit of fair play and good common-sense which has so long characterised him, and settle this question in a wise and equitable manner.

It is time we defined the position we intend to occupy in South Africa in the future, and the question will arise on the amendment of Sir George Campbell. We have granted self-government to the Cape Colony, and Natal has asked for the same privilege. If we grant this boon to Natal, and make her clearly understand that in future she must pay for all her wars, that she can have our troops only on condition that she pays the entire cost,—if we adopt such a policy there will probably be peace on her borders. Since we granted self-government to New Zealand, and compelled the New Zealanders to pay for their own native wars, the native troubles there have practically ceased.

In Africa, America, and Australia we have founded, at great expense in blood and treasure, our flourishing colonies. We have given them the magnificent crown lands as a free inheritance; we have treated them with a generosity unparalleled in the history of the world, and how have we been repaid? They have enacted laws to shut us out of their markets; they treat us like any other foreign country,—nay, some of them are even prepared to offer better terms to a foreign country than to ourselves. We cannot afford to continue this policy, and

in future all our colonies should understand that the mother country is not prepared to do any more for them than she has done, and that the Colonial Office, like the Indian Office, must be self-supporting.

In South Africa we have the descendants of the early Dutch and French Colonists, the Africanders: to them and to the English Colonists who have made South Africa their home the future belongs, and I trust Lord Derby and the present Government will seriously consider our present strained relations with the South African Republic, and try to bring about a different condition of things. The citizens of the Transvaal and the Free State consider we have grievously wronged them: we have deliberately violated the solemn treaties that we made with them. They left our territory and wandered into the unexplored wilds of the continent to found new communities, where they could be free and self-governed. In Natal and in the Free State we followed them; we fought and conquered them; Natal we have retained, but we were glad to give up the Free State. After the battle of Boomplatz we offered a treaty to the emigrants who had crossed the Vall River, and at our wish Pretorius and his followers met us at Sand River. A Convention was signed that was satisfactory to both parties; I append that Treaty. The Boers have faithfully fulfilled all the obligations they incurred; we have shamefully violated ours. In 1868, in 1871, and in 1877 we dishonourably broke our engagements, and seriously injured two nations weaker than ourselves; we did to the Republics of the

Orange River and the Vaal River what we dare not do to the Republics of France and America, and to the present hour we still refuse to undo the wrongs, far less offer restitution. Mr. Gladstone, in his Midlothian speeches, said the annexation of the Transvaal was impolitic and unjust,—nay, he went further and characterised it as insane. He repudiated the transaction, and denounced the dishonourable means by which it had been brought about. All now admit that the destruction of the South African Republic was brought about by misrepresentations and false pretences; for three years, by protests and appeals to our sense of justice and fairness, they tried to get the wrong undone; they were unsuccessful, and had to appeal to arms. In the midst of the war we offered terms, and appointed a Royal Commission to arrange our differences. This Royal Commission compelled the Boer leaders to accept a treaty in which they did not even get the terms we proposed during the hostilities.

Rather than again appeal to arms they protested and signed it. The Parliament they called were as much dissatisfied as themselves; they again appealed to our sense of justice, complained of this further wrong that was being done to them, and finally the Volksraad consented to provisionally ratify the Convention their leaders had signed, and *give it the trial we requested.* They have done so. Bechuanaland, an old part of the territory, was cut away from them: it was given to native chiefs who had emigrated into it after they had settled there, just as they have done in our own colony of Natal. We

told them to compensate their citizens whose land had been thus cut away, and we left them smarting under a sense of further injustice : our Colonial officials have treated them in a fashion which has intensified that feeling, and the slightest cause, with the present tension of feeling, will bring about a war which will either end with the independence of South Africa or the annihilation of the Africanders.

It is time to offer simple justice to the Boers. The Government admit that all the pretexts for interference in 1877 were false and dishonest ; the Sikukuni correspondence before and after annexation is a blot on Lord Carnarvon's good name, and a scandal to ourselves. There were more native wars and troubles during the three years we held the country than during the thirty years the Boers governed it. Our native policy was disgraceful ; we appointed as magistrate in Zoutspansberg a man who had been degraded from his post by the Boer Government for dealing in slaves. This man, a Portuguese, named Albasini, was discovered by the Government of the Republic to be prostituting his position and dealing in slaves ; they prosecuted him, but did not secure a conviction because there was a flaw in the indictment, but they ignominiously dismissed him from his office ; yet when Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the country, he reappointed this scoundrel as a magistrate in his old district. When we took over the country there were no wrongs of the natives to right, no slaves to liberate. Sir Wilfred Lawson offered a reward of ten pounds for every one that was found, and no one attempted to claim it. But

what has occurred since the country has been handed back to the Boers? They have ordered the release of hundreds of natives who had been apprenticed contrary to the law. Some of these natives had been apprenticed for a period that would expire in 1894, and this wrong done to natives by British magistrates, when the country was governed by us as despotically as we govern India, or as Russia is governed, has had to be undone by the present Volksraad, which has ordered their liberation. In the last Blue Books we have the humiliating admissions made by our ex-officials that the charge made by the Boer Government is true—that eight hundred were apprenticed at Potchefstroom, and hundreds more at Pretoria,—and all they can plead in extenuation is that the natives apprenticed nearly all ran away, and that there cannot be many to liberate. By solemn treaty we agreed to recognise the full and complete freedom of the Republic. By an almost unprecedented breach of international law we annexed it, notwithstanding the protests of the Government and the people. This policy of force, fraud, and folly has been discredited. It began in dishonour and ended in disaster; but we have not fully undone the wrong—we have not entirely reversed the unjustifiable act of annexation—we have placed new bonds on them which they refuse any longer to bear. They ask, Why should we be placed in a different position from our brethren in the Free State? and what they have done that the full and complete measure of independence guaranteed to them by the Sand River Convention shall still be withheld? and they will never rest

satisfied till a treaty on the lines of that Convention is again granted. The present Convention has caused serious difficulties and undesirable complications, and I trust Lord Derby will still further add to his high reputation for statesmanship by following the course that justice and policy alike demand,—that he will modify the Pretoria Convention, and return to the conditions adopted in 1852, as such a course only will restore that goodwill and friendly feeling between the Dutch and English populations which is so necessary for the peace and prosperity of South Africa.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE SAND RIVER CONVENTION.

MINUTES of a Meeting held in the place of Mr. P. A. Venter, Sand River, on Friday, the 18th day of January, 1852, between Major W. Hogge and C. M. Owen, Esq., Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners, for the Settling and Adjusting of the Affairs of the Eastern and North-Eastern Boundaries of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, on the one part, and the following Deputation from the Emigrant Farmers residing north of the Vaal River:—

A. W. J. Pretorius, Commandant-General.
H. S. Lombard, Landdrost.
W. F. Joubert, Commandant-General.
G. J. Kruger, Commandant.
J. N. Grobbelaar, Raadslid.
P. E. Schlotz.
P. J. Wolmarans, Ouderling.
J. A. van Aswegen, Veldcornet.
F. J. J. Botes, ditto.
N. J. S. Basson, ditto.
J. P. Fostenberg, ditto.
J. P. Pretorius.
J. H. Grobbelaar.
J. M. Lehman.
P. Schutte.
J. C. Kloppers.

On the other part.

The Assistant Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner, on the part of the British Government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs,

and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government; and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond, to the north of the Vaal River; with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers now inhabiting, or who may hereafter inhabit that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties.

Should any misunderstanding hereinafter arise as to the true meaning of the words "The Vaal River," this question, in so far as regards the line from the source of that river over the Draakenberg, shall be settled and adjusted by Commissioners chosen by both parties.

Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners hereby disclaim all alliances whatever and with whomsoever of the coloured nations to the north of the Vaal River.

It is agreed that no slavery is or shall be permitted or practised in the country to the north of the Vaal River, by the emigrant farmers.

Mutual facilities and liberty shall be afforded to traders and travellers on both sides of the Vaal River; it being understood that every wagon containing ammunition and fire-arms, coming from the south side of the Vaal River, shall produce a certificate signed by a British Magistrate or other functionary duly authorised to grant such: and which shall state the quantities of such articles contained in said wagon, to the nearest magistrate north of the Vaal River, who shall act in the case as the regulations of the emigrant farmers direct. It is agreed, that no objection shall be made by any British authority against the emigrant Boers purchasing their supplies of ammunition in any of the British colonies and possessions in South Africa; it being mutually understood that all trade in ammunition with the native tribes is prohibited both by the British Government and the emigrant farmers, on both sides of the Vaal River.

It is agreed, that so far as possible, all criminals and other guilty parties who may fly from justice, either way across the Vaal River, shall be mutually delivered up, if such should be required, and that the British Courts, as well as those of the emigrant farmers, shall be mutually open to each other for all legitimate processes, and that summonses for witnesses sent either way across the Vaal River shall be backed by the magis-

trates on each side of the same respectively, to compel the attendance of such witnesses when required.

It is agreed, that certificates of marriage issued by the proper authorities of the emigrant farmers, shall be held valid and sufficient to entitle children of such marriages to receive portions accruing to them in any British colony or possession in South Africa.

It is agreed, that any and every person now in possession of land and residing in British territory shall have free right and power to sell his said property and remove unmolested across the Vaal River, and *vice versâ:* it being distinctly understood that this arrangement does not comprehend criminals or debtors, without providing for the payment of their just and lawful debts.

This done and signed at Sand River aforesaid, this 18th day of January, 1852.

(Signed) A. W. J. Pretorius, *Commandant-General.*
H. S. Lombard, *Landdrost.*
W. F. Joubert, *C.G.*
G. J. Kruger, *Commandant.*
W. I. Hogge, *Assistant Commissioner.*
C. Mostyn Owen, *Assistant Commissioner.*
J. N. Grobbelaar, *R.L.*
P. E. Scholtz.
P. J. Wolmarans, *Ouderling.*
J. A. van Aswegen, *V.C.*
F. J. J. Botes.
N. J. S. Basson, *V. Cornet.*
J. P. Fostenberg, *Veldcornet.*
J. P. Pretorius.
J. H. Grobbelaar.
J. M. Lehman.
P. Schutte.
J. C. Kloppers.

In presence of—

(Signed) John Burnet,
Clerk to the Civil Commissioner of Winburg.

(Signed) J. A. Visagie, *Secretary.*

No. II.

THE PRETORIA CONVENTION.

Her Majesty's Commissioners for the settlement of the Transvaal Territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date the 5th of April, 1881, do hereby undertake and guarantee on behalf of Her Majesty that from and after the 8th day of August, 1881, complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her Heirs and Successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal Territory, upon the following terms and conditions, and subject to the following reservations and limitations:—

Article 1.—The said Territory, to be hereinafter called the Transvaal State, will embrace the land lying between the following boundaries:—

Article 2.—Her Majesty reserves to herself, her Heirs and Successors, (*a*) the right from time to time to appoint a British Resident in and for the said State, with such duties and functions as are hereinafter defined; (*b*) the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the Suzerain Power and any foreign State, or Native tribe in South Africa; and (*c*) the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties, and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with Foreign Powers, such intercourse to be carried on through Her Majesty's diplomatic and consular officers abroad.

Article 3.—Until altered by the Volksraad or other competent authority, all laws, whether passed before or after the annexation of the Transvaal Territory to Her Majesty's dominions, shall, except in so far as they are consistent with, or repugnant to, the provisions of this Convention, be and remain in force in the said State, in so far as they shall be applicable thereto: Provided that no future enactment specially affecting the interests of Natives shall have any force or effect in the said State without the consent of Her Majesty, her Heirs and Successors, first had and obtained and signified to the Government of the said State through the British Resident: Provided further, that in no case will the repeal or amendment

of any laws which have been enacted since the annexation have a retrospective effect so as to invalidate any acts done or liabilities incurred by virtue of such laws.

Article 4.—On the 8th day of August, 1881, the Government of the said State, together with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, and all State property taken over at the time of annexation, save and except munitions of war, will be handed over to

Messrs. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger,
Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and
Petrus Jacobus Joubert,

or the survivor or survivors of them, who will forthwith cause a Volksraad to be elected and convened; and the Volksraad thus elected and convened will decide as to the further administration of the Government of the said State.

Article 5.—All sentences passed upon persons who may be convicted of offences contrary to the rules of civilised warfare, committed during the recent hostilities, will be duly carried out, and no alteration or mitigation of such sentences will be made or allowed by the Government of the Transvaal State without Her Majesty's consent, conveyed through the British Resident. In case there shall be any prisoners in any of the gaols of the Transvaal State, whose respective sentences of imprisonment have been remitted in part by Her Majesty's Administrator or other officer administering the Government, such remission will be recognised and acted upon by the future Government of the said State.

Article 6.—Her Majesty's Government will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in the 8th Article hereinafter specified, which may have been committed by Her Majesty's forces during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damage as may already have been compensated for, and the Government of the Transvaal State will make due compensation for all losses or damage sustained by reason of such acts as are in the 8th Article hereinafter specified, which may have been committed by the people who were in arms against Her Majesty during the recent hostilities, except for such losses or damages as may have been already compensated for.

Article 7.—The decision of all claims for compensation, as

in the last preceding article mentioned, will be referred to a Sub-Commission, consisting of the Honourable George Hudson, the Honourable Jacobus Petrus de Wet, and the Honourable John Gilbert Kotzé.

In case one or more of such Sub-Commissioners shall be unable or unwilling to act, the remaining Sub-Commissioner or Sub-Commissioners will, after consultation with the Government of the Transvaal State, submit for the approval of Her Majesty's High Commissioner, the names of one or more persons to be appointed by him, to fill the place or places thus vacated.

The decision of the said Sub-Commissioners, or of a majority of them, will be final.

The said Sub-Commissioners will enter upon and perform their duties with all convenient speed. They will, before taking evidence, or ordering evidence to be taken, in respect of any claim, decide whether such claim can be entertained at all under the rules laid down in the next succeeding Article.

In regard to claims which can be so entertained, the Sub-Commissioners will, in the first instance, afford every facility for an amicable arrangement as to the amount payable in respect of any claim, and only in cases in which there is no reasonable ground for believing that an immediate amicable arrangement can be arrived at, will they take evidence, or order evidence to be taken.

For the purpose of taking evidence and reporting thereon, the Sub-Commissioners may appoint deputies, who will without delay submit records of the evidence and their reports to the Sub-Commissioners.

The Sub-Commissioners will arrange their sittings, and the sittings of their deputies, in such a manner as to afford the greatest convenience to the parties concerned and their witnesses. In no case will costs be allowed on either side, other than the actual and reasonable expenses of witnesses whose evidence is certified by the Sub-Commissioners to have been necessary. Interest will not run on the amount of any claim except as hereinafter provided for.

The said Sub-Commissioners will forthwith, after deciding upon any claim, announce their decision to the Government against which the award is made, and to the claimant.

The amount of remuneration payable to the Sub-Commissioners and their deputies will be determined by the High Commissioner after all the claims have been decided upon. The British

Government and the Government of the Transvaal State will pay proportionate shares of the said remuneration, and of the expenses of the Sub-Commissioners and their deputies, according to the amounts awarded against them respectively.

Article 8.—For the purpose of distinguishing claims to be accepted from those to be rejected the Sub-Commissioners will be guided by the following rules, viz.:—Compensation will be allowed for losses or damage sustained by reason of the following acts committed during the recent hostilities, viz.:—(*a*) commandeering, seizure, confiscation, or destruction of property, or damage done to property; (*b*) violence done or threats used by persons in arms.

In regard to acts under (*a*), compensation will be allowed for direct losses only.

In regard to acts falling under (*b*), compensation will be allowed for actual losses of property, or actual injury to the same, proved to have been caused by its enforced abandonment.

No claims for indirect losses, except such as are in this Article specially provided for, will be entertained.

No claims which have been handed into the Secretary of the Royal Commission after the 1st day of July, 1881, will be entertained, unless the Sub-Commissioners shall be satisfied that the delay was reasonable.

When claims for loss of property are considered, the Sub-Commissioners will require distinct proof of the existence of the property, and that it neither has reverted, nor will revert, to the claimant.

Article 9.—The Government of the Transvaal State will pay and satisfy the amount of every claim awarded against it within one month after the Sub-Commissioners shall have notified their decision to the said Government, and in default of such payment the said Government will pay interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum from the date of such default; but Her Majesty's Government may, at any time before such payment, pay the amount, with interest, if any, to the claimant in satisfaction of his claim, and may add the sum thus paid to any debt which may be due by the Transvaal State to Her Majesty's Government, as hereinafter provided for.

Article 10.—The Transvaal State will be liable for the balance of the debts for which the South African Republic was liable at the date of annexation, to wit: the sum of 48,000*l.* in

respect of the Cape Commercial Bank Loan, and 85,667*l.* in respect of the Railway Loan, together with the amount due on the 8th August, 1881, on account of the Orphan Chamber debt, which now stands at 27,226*l.* 15*s.*, which debts will be a first charge upon the revenues of the State. The Transvaal State will moreover be liable for the lawful expenditure lawfully incurred for the necessary expenses of the Province since annexation, to wit: the sum of 265,000*l.*, which debt, together with such debts as may be incurred by virtue of the 9th Article, will be a second charge upon the revenues of the State.

Article 11.—The debts due as aforesaid by the Transvaal State to Her Majesty's Government will bear interest at the rate of three and a half per cent., and any portion of such debt as may remain unpaid on the 8th August, 1882, shall be repayable by a payment for interest and sinking fund of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.* per annum, which will extinguish the debt in 25 years. The said payment of six pounds and ninepence per 100*l.*, shall be payable half-yearly, in British currency, on the 8th February and 8th August in each year. Provided always that the Transvaal State shall pay, in reduction of the said debt the sum of 100,000*l.* before the 8th August, 1882, and shall be at liberty at the close of any half-year to pay off the whole or any portion of the outstanding debt.

Article 12.—All persons holding property in the said State on the 8th day of August, 1881, will continue to enjoy the rights of property which they have enjoyed since the annexation. No person who has remained loyal to Her Majesty during the recent hostilities shall suffer any molestation by reason of his loyalty; or be liable to any criminal prosecution or civil action for any part taken in connection with such hostilities; and all such persons will have full liberty to reside in the country, with enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.

Article 13.—Natives will be allowed to acquire land, but the grant or transfer of such land will in every case be made to and registered in the name of the Native Location Commission hereinafter-mentioned, in trust for such Natives.

Article 14.—Natives will be allowed to move as freely within the country as may be consistent with the requirements of public order, and to leave it for the purpose of seeking em-

ployment elsewhere, or for other lawful purposes, subject always to the Pass Laws of the said State, as amended by the Legislature of the Province, or as may hereafter be enacted, under the provisions of the 3rd Article of this Convention.

Article 15.—The provisions of the 4th Article of the Sand River Convention are hereby re-affirmed, and no slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery will be tolerated by the Government of the said State.

Article 16.—There will continue to be complete freedom of religion and protection from molestation for all denominations, provided the same be not inconsistent with morality and good order; and no disability shall attach to any person in regard to rights of property by reason of the religious opinions which he holds.

Article 17.—The British Resident will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions. He will also receive every assistance for the proper care and preservation of the graves of such of Her Majesty's forces as have died in the Transvaal; and, if need be, for the expropriation of land for the purpose.

Article 18.—The following will be the duties and functions of the British Resident:—

(1) He will perform duties and functions analogous to those discharged by a Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General.

(2) In regard to Natives within the Transvaal State he will, (*a*) report to the High Commissioner, as representative of the Suzerain, as to the working and observance of the provisions of this Convention; (*b*) report to the Transvaal authorities any cases of ill-treatment of Natives, or attempts to incite Natives to rebellion, that may come to his knowledge; (*c*) use his influence with the Natives in favour of law and order; and (*d*) generally perform such other duties as are by this Convention entrusted to him, and take such steps for the protection of the persons and property of Natives as are consistent with the laws of the land.

(3) In regard to Natives not residing in the Transvaal, (*a*) he will report to the High Commissioner and the Transvaal Government any encroachments reported to him as having been made by Transvaal residents upon

the land of such Natives, and in case of disagreement between the Transvaal Government and the British Resident, as to whether an encroachment had been made, the decision of the Suzerain will be final. (*b*) The British Resident will be the medium of communication with Native Chiefs outside the Transvaal, and, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, as representing the Suzerain, he will control the conclusion of treaties with them; and (*c*) he will arbitrate upon every dispute between Transvaal residents and Natives outside the Transvaal (as to acts committed beyond the boundaries of the Transvaal) which may be referred to him by the parties interested.

(4) In regard to communications with Foreign Powers, the Transvaal Government will correspond with Her Majesty's Government through the British Resident and the High Commissioner.

Article 19.—The Government of the Transvaal State will strictly adhere to the boundaries defined in the first article of this Convention, and will do its utmost to prevent any of its inhabitants from making any encroachment upon lands beyond the said State. The Royal Commission will forthwith appoint a person who will beacon off the boundary line between Ramathlabama and the point where such line first touches the Griqualand West boundary, midway between the Vaal and Hart Rivers. The person so appointed will be instructed to make an arrangement between the owners of the farms "Grootfontein" and "Valleifontein" on the one hand and the Baralong authorities on the other, by which a fair share of the water supply of the said farms shall be allowed to flow undisturbed to the said Baralongs.

Article 20.—All grants or titles issued at any time by the Transvaal Government in respect of land outside the boundary of the Transvaal State, as defined in Article 1, shall be considered invalid and of no effect, except in so far as any such grant or title relates to land that falls within the boundary of the Transvaal State; and all persons holding any such grant so considered invalid and of no effect will receive from the Government of the Transvaal State such compensation, either in land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. In all cases in which any Native Chiefs or other authorities outside the said boundaries

have received any inadequate consideration from the Government of the former South African Republic for land excluded from the Transvaal by the first Article of this Convention, or where permanent improvements have been made on the land, the British Resident will, subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, use his influence to recover from the Native authorities fair compensation for the loss of the land thus excluded, or of the permanent improvements thereon.

Article 21.—Forthwith, after the taking effect of this Convention, a Native Location Commission will be constituted, consisting of the President (or in his absence the Vice-President) of the State, or some one deputed by him, the Resident, or some one deputed by him, and a third person to be agreed upon by the President (or the Vice-President as the case may be) and the Resident; and such Commission will be a standing body for the performance of the duties hereinafter mentioned.

Article 22.—The Native Location Commission will reserve to the Native tribes of the State such locations as they may be fairly and equitably entitled to, due regard being had to the actual occupation of such tribes. The Native Location Commission will clearly define the boundaries of such locations, and for that purpose will, in every instance, first of all ascertain the wishes of the parties interested in such land. In case land already granted in individual titles shall be required for the purpose of any location, the owners will receive such compensation, either in other land or in money, as the Volksraad shall determine. After the boundaries of any location have been fixed, no fresh grant of land within such location will be made, nor will the boundaries be altered without the consent of the Location Commission. No fresh grants of land will be made in the districts of Waterberg, Zoutpansberg, and Lydenburg, until the locations in the said districts respectively shall have been defined by the said Commission.

Article 23.—If not released before the taking effect of this Convention, Sikukuni, and those of his followers who have been imprisoned with him, will be forthwith released, and the boundaries of his location will be defined by the Native Location Commission in the manner indicated in the last preceding Article.

Article 24.—The independence of the Swazis, within the

boundary line of Swaziland, as indicated in the first Article of this Convention, will be fully recognised.

Article 25.—No other or higher duties will be imposed on the importation into the Transvaal State of any article, the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty, from whatever place arriving, than are or may be payable on the like article, the produce or manufacture of any other country, nor will any prohibition be maintained or imposed on the importation of any article, the produce or manufacture of the dominions and possessions of Her Majesty, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like articles, being the produce or manufacture of any other country.

Article 26.—All persons other than Natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (*a*) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to emply; (*d*) they will not be subject, in respect to their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon Transvaal citizens.

Article 27.—All inhabitants of the Transvaal shall have free access to the Courts of Justice for the prosecution and defence of their rights.

Article 28.—All persons, other than Natives, who established their domicile in the Transvaal between the 12th day of April, 1877, and the date when this Convention comes into effect, and who shall within 12 months after such last-mentioned date have their names registered by the British Resident, shall be exempt from all compulsory military service whatever. The Resident shall notify such registration to the Government of the Transvaal State.

Article 29.—Provision shall hereafter be made by a separate instrument for the mutual extradition of criminals, and also for the surrender of deserters from Her Majesty's forces.

Article 30.—All debts contracted since the annexation will be payable in the same currency in which they may have been contracted.

All uncancelled postage and other revenue stamps issued by the Government since the annexation will remain valid, and will be accepted at their present value by the future Government of the State. All licenses duly issued since the annexation will remain in force during the period for which they may have been issued.

Article 31.—No grants of land which may have been made, and no transfers or mortgages which may have been passed, since the date of annexation, will be invalidated by reason merely of their having been made or passed after such date.

All transfers to the British Secretary for Native Affairs in trust for Natives will remain in force, the Native Location Commission taking the place of such Secretary for Native Affairs.

Article 32.—This Convention will be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad within the period of three months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.

Article 33.—Forthwith after the ratification of this Convention, as in the last preceding Article mentioned, all British troops in Transvaal territory will leave the same, and the mutual delivery of munitions of war will be carried out.

Signed at Pretoria, this 3rd day of August, 1881.

HERCULES ROBINSON,
President and High Commissioner.
EVELYN WOOD, *Major-General,*
Officer Administering the Government.
J. H. de VILLIERS.
} Royal Commissioners.

We, the undersigned, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Martinus Wessel Pretorius, and Petrus Jacobus Joubert, as representatives of the Transvaal Burghers, do hereby agree to all the above conditions, reservations, and limitations, under which self-government has been restored to the inhabitants of the Transvaal territory, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her Heirs and Successors, and we agree to accept the Government of the said territory, with all rights and obligations thereto appertaining, on the 8th day of August, 1881, and we

promise and undertake that this Convention shall be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad of the Transvaal State within three months from this date.

Signed at Pretoria, this 3rd day of August, 1881.

S. J. P. KRUGER.
M. W. PRETORIUS.
P. J. JOUBERT.

No. III.

RESOLUTION OF VOLKSRAAD, PROVISIONALLY RATIFYING THE PRETORIA CONVENTION.

THE Volksraad, in its sitting on this, the 25th October, proceeds to close all further discussions on the Convention between the Members of the Royal Commissioners as representatives of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the members of the Triumvirate as representing the Government of the people of the South African Republic, signed on the 3rd August, 1881. Rightly did His Honour the Vice-President, on the opening of the Volksraad, declare, "We cannot flatter ourselves with the hope that the Convention will satisfy you in its various provisions: it has not satisfied ourselves; but we venture to give you this assurance that we signed it with the conviction that under the circumstances sincere love for our fatherland and solicitude for the welfare of South Africa demanded from us not to withhold our signatures from the Convention. We publish in our *Staats Courant* verbally as far as possible everything that has been altered and that has happened between the Members of the Royal Commission and the Hon. Triumvirate and Members of the Transvaal Commission, from which you will see that we left nothing untried on our side to obtain those modifications in the Convention which appeared desirable to us. We are, however, convinced that many, if not all, the remarks advanced by us will appear later on to have been well founded, and that the British Government itself will have to propose modification and changes in the Convention."

The Volksraad is not satisfied with the Convention, and considers that the members of the Triumvirate performed an onerous

deed of patriotism when they undertook the responsibility of signing so unsatisfactory a State document. The Volksraad sees that it is forced by the same motives to ratify, which compelled the Triumvirate to sign. These motives it dares to publish to the whole world without any reservation. They may be stated in two words: fear of renewed bloodshed between two races who are called to bear with and esteem each other, and fear of renewed dissension between the chief representatives of the white races in South Africa, which undermines the common welfare of all the States and Colonies in South Africa. The Volksraad desire again to show an example of endurance and patience. Since 1834 the pioneers of the emigrant farmers have always exercised patience; and, notwithstanding the occurrences in Natal and Boomplaats, they gave a peaceable settlement the preference to one that might cause bloodshed. Thirty years ago the great blessing of such a peace-loving policy was shown by the representatives of the English Government with the representatives of our emigrant farmers, having in 1852 at Sand River signed a Convention which terminated the embarrassment and became the basis of our liberty and independence. When, in April, 1877, by the direful annexation the Convention was violated, they pursued the same policy: they did not avail themselves of their right to resist by force, and only in 1880, after every other means had been exhausted, did they have recourse to arms. Even then the war was prosecuted defensively.

In discussing the terms of peace the right of the people to complete self-government was acknowledged, while to the Suzerain was alone conceded the right of supervising foreign relations. Nothing was said of the debts; the compensation for losses during the war was limited to losses suffered in matters not justified by the necessities of war. In the Convention this is almost entirely overlooked, and the representatives of the people were compelled to accept conditions which placed a heavy burden on the people. The Volksraad has in its deliberations commented upon the chief points in which the Transvaal Commission opposed the Royal Commission. It is undeniable that the people, by their representatives at the peace negotiations, agreed to something far different. The people had a right to expect they would not receive less than was agreed to with their representatives. The Volksraad therefore commissioned the Government to communicate its objections to the English Government, and state that the Volksraad desired the following

alterations :—A. Instead of direction of foreign relations, supervision thereof. B. No interference with the legislature of the country. C. The Resident to be representative of Suzerain no more. D. The territory taken east and west to be compensated for by England, which country takes the lands to dispose of at her discretion. E. The debts of the country only to be paid by us if duly and lawfully proved to exist, and for lawful and necessary expenditure of the country. Compensation for damages sustained in the war to be paid only for losses not justified by the necessities of war.

From the English Government an answer was received that, as to the main point, proves the Volksraad to be correct; it was as follows:—"The Convention having being signed by the leaders who entered into the Peace Treaty, and they having undertaken that the Convention should be ratified within three months, Her Majesty's Government cannot consider any propositions to amend the Convention before the same has been ratified and its practical working has been properly tested." The English Government practically acknowledges by this answer that the objections of the Volksraad are not merely idle or imaginary ones. It, however, deserves a concession from us, that we, the Volksraad, shall submit to a practical test. When the Volksraad again intimated that it was not satisfied with this answer, because in any case it could not be applied to the monetary question, inasmuch as this could not be the subject of a practical test, the last answer of the British Government was that it was not disposed to make any further concessions. The answer was, "The Volksraad resolution having been forwarded to Earl Kimberley, I have received instructions to authorise you to repeat to the Triumvirate that Her Majesty's Government cannot entertain any proposition for the amendment of the Convention before it has been ratified, and the necessity for further concession has been proved by experience." This answer is clear, and leaves no reason to doubt.

In consequence, therefore, the Volksraad resolves, as it hereby does, not further to discuss the Convention, as all objections were represented at the sitting of the Royal Commission, or were summarised by the Volksraad, and to prove to each and every one that they are animated by a love of peace and unanimity, and provisionally submitting the Articles of the Convention to a practical test, hereby complies with the request of the English Government of the 18th October, 1881, and now proceed to ratify this Convention, signed, as hereinbefore mentioned, on 3rd

August, 1881. In effecting which the members of the Volksraad severally sign the resolution, and commission the Chairman and Secretary, in the name of the Volksraad, to notify this ratification; and, lastly, to request the Government to notify this ratification, and to communicate this Volksraad's resolution, in its entirety, to all friendly Governments.

HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.